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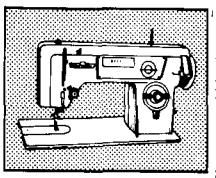

If you just bought this nationally advertised portable sewing machine for $99.95, **you overpaid by $64.95!**

Because you can actually buy the very same sewing machine direct from America's largest factory buying club—Unity Buying Service—**and you pay only the rock-bottom factory price of $35.00.**

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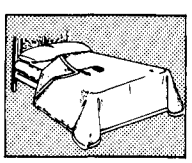
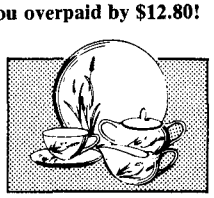
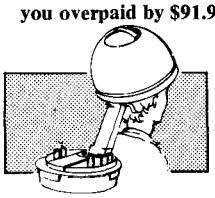


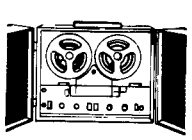
If you just bought this fully automatic electric blanket for $24.95, **you overpaid by $12.80!**



If you just bought this beautiful bone china dinnerware service for $171.95, **you overpaid by $91.95!**



If you just bought this top quality portable hairdryer for $22.95, **you overpaid by $12.46!**



If you just bought this nationally advertised tape recorder for $399.50, **you overpaid by $249.75!**

If you just bought this famous make spinning reel for $28.50, **you overpaid by $15.68!**

For obvious reasons, we are not permitted to reveal brand names in this announcement. (One look at our prices tells you why.) But the names are clearly stated in our catalog—and they include the most famous and respected manufacturers in America . . . brands you'll recognize instantly.

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For the past 10 years, Unity Buying Service has been battling inflation. **And we've found the way to win.** A simple, proven way that puts an end to the padded prices you've been paying for almost everything you buy. A way that is so successful, it can save hundreds, even thousands of dollars a year for each of the more than 400,000 people who have already joined us in our fight. **This is your invitation to join.**

You Always Buy At The Factory Price

The way Unity Buying Service works is really quite simple. As a new member, you receive our 420-page, full-color current catalog of first quality, name brand merchandise. More than 10,000 dependable, nationally advertised items, the kind featured by reputable department stores and merchants in your area, and in well-known national mail-order catalogs.

But there's one vital difference between Unity's catalog and others you may have seen. **The selling prices shown in our catalog are NOT your prices.** Your prices are the **factory prices** which average over 50% less than those shown in the catalog. These astoundingly low factory prices are all provided for you in the confidential Factory Price Book that all club members receive. This Price Book gives you your cost for each of the thousands of top-quality items in your Unity catalog. You pay only the price listed under "Your Cost" plus a modest 6% handling charge.

Guaranteed First Quality National Brands

Everything you order from Unity is brand new, nationally recognized, first quality merchandise in original factory cartons. Everything is guaranteed to please you . . . you must be completely satisfied, or simply return the item for exchange or full refund. All catalog items are stocked in our own modern warehouse where your orders are filled and shipped immediately. (Only exceptions are a few extra heavy or special order items.) You deal directly with Unity—and only Unity—at all times.

Earn Big Money In Your Spare Time!

Now, at last, you can buy dependable, nationally famous brands at factory prices, the way wholesalers and distributors do . . . the same wholesalers and distributors who supply all types of stores including discount houses. **Imagine the tremendous savings!** Savings so big, you can actually earn a substantial second income by acting as a local buying service, and selling to your friends and neighbors. Here's how easy it is: You offer your customers any merchandise in the Unity catalog at **dealer prices** or below. **And earn an average 25% profit for yourself.** For example, let's suppose a friend wants to buy a nationally advertised AM/FM solid state multiplex tuner with 8-track cartridge player and speaker system. The unit carries a suggested list price of $199.95. Regular dealer cost is $169.95—**but you pay only the factory price, $122.20.** Your friend pays the dealer price and saves $30.00, while you make a clear profit of $47.75 on this one sale alone!

Before long, the word will get around, and you could be handling orders for thousands of dollars worth of merchandise. Your substantial profits mount quickly into a sizable year-round income—**and all you invest is a few hours of your spare time!**

Whether you use your Unity membership for your own orders, for your customers' orders—or both—you can save many times the low membership fee of $6 with just your first purchase.

Even Greater Bargains!

As a Unity member, you always share in our tremendous buying power. For example, our closeout buyers continually comb the markets to bring you recently discontinued, top quality merchandise **at a mere fraction of the manufacturer's cost!** These incredible values are described and offered to you in periodic Closeout Bulletins—available only to Club members, of course.

But remember—whether you select from our Closeout Bulletins or our huge 420-page catalog, you are under no obligation to buy any minimum quantity. In fact, you are under no obligation to buy anything at all. You order as little or as much as you want, **when** you want it. No need to wait around for seasonal sales at your local stores. Unity's fantastically low factory prices are available to you at all times . . . yours to enjoy **365 days a year!**

Prove It Yourself! 30-Day No-Risk Trial!

Accept a trial membership **without risking a single penny.** Simply mail application. By return mail, we'll rush the Club's beautifully illustrated 420-page merchandise catalog and your confidential Factory Price Book. Examine everything thoroughly at your leisure. You must be convinced that these are by far the lowest prices you've ever seen anywhere for such top quality merchandise. Otherwise, merely return the membership material within 30 days for a full refund of your enrollment fee, promptly and without question.

Take advantage of this no-risk opportunity to get twice as much for almost every dollar you spend from now on! You simply can't lose. Mail the application **today** for sure!

YOU CHOOSE FROM MORE THAN 10,000 NATIONALLY RECOGNIZED TOP-QUALITY ITEMS AT ROCK-BOTTOM FACTORY PRICES.

Here's just a small sampling of the merchandise available to you as a Club member:

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Yes, please enroll me as a member of your Factory Buying Club for one full year and rush my giant 420-page current catalog and confidential Factory Price Book for my personal use. I will also receive the 420-page 1971-72 catalog plus special closeout bulletins as they are issued. I understand there is no obligation to purchase anything. However, any merchandise I do decide to buy will always be shipped to me at rock-bottom factory prices. If not absolutely delighted, I may return the membership material within 30 days for prompt refund of membership fee.

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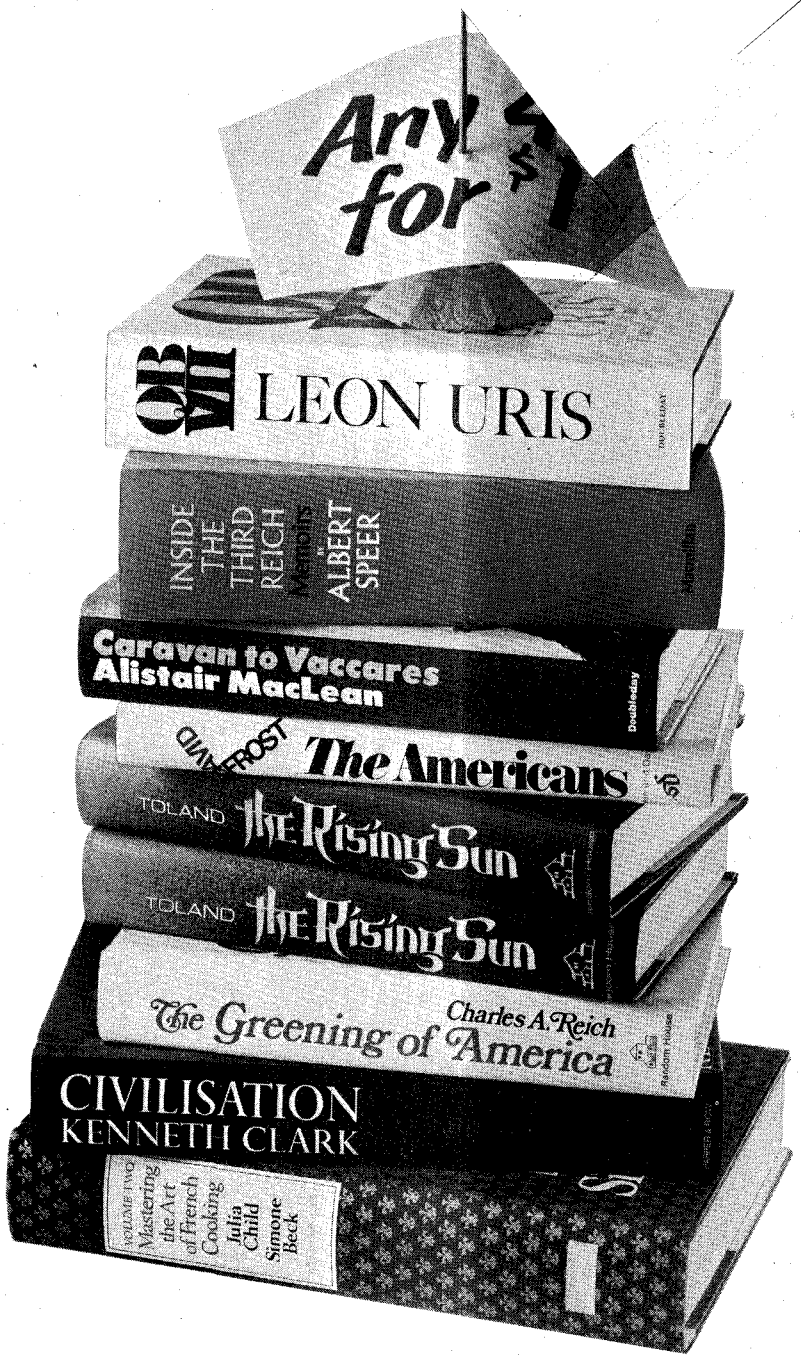

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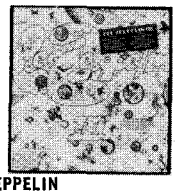

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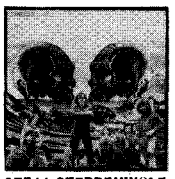

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44753 TRAFFIC—John Barleycorn Must Die
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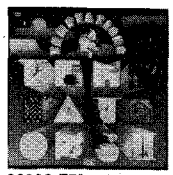

30622 TEMPTATIONS
Greatest Hits, Vol. 2
Gordy LP, 8TR, CASS

12286 DUSCHENES RECORDER QUARTET
Baroq LP, 8TR, CASS

42745 WOODSTOCK—
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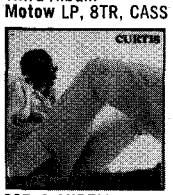
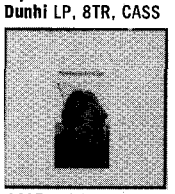
Cotil LP

65779 MELANIE—Candles In Rain
Budda LP, 8TR, CASS

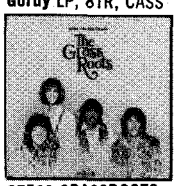


66703 CURTIS MAYFIELD—Curtis
Curto LP, 8TR, CASS



38358 VIKKI CARR—Nashville By Carr
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS

33077 JOAN BAEZ—
One Day at a Time
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS



67509 GRASSROOTS
More Golden Grass
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

17263 GREGORIAN CHANT
Phili LP

44365 JACQUES BREL
—If You Go Away
Phili LP

65784 MELANIE—
Leftover Wine
Budda LP, 8TR, CASS

39089 5TH DIMENSION
—Greatest Hits
SouCi LP, 8TR, CASS

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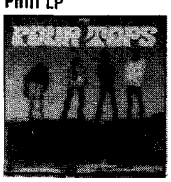
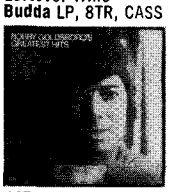
—1812 Overture
Mercu LP, 8TR, CASS

17317 CASALS—
Plays Beethoven
Phil LP

33469 BEST OF BUFFALO SPRINGFIELD
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS



30607 FOUR TOPS—
Still Waters Run Deep
Motow LP,8TR,CASS



44745 BOBBY GOLDSBORO—Greatest Hits
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

38364 CANNED HEAT
—Future Blues
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS

42765 ROBERTA FLACK—Chapter Two
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

38367 SUGARLOAF
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS

33088 MOZART—
Piano Quartets
Vangu LP

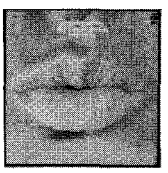
44712 MIDNIGHT COWBOY—Soundtrack
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

67510 THREE DOG NIGHT—Naturally
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

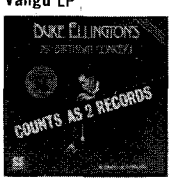
39071 5TH DIMENSION
—Age of Aquarius
SouCi LP, 8TR, CASS

44378 PAUL MAURIAT
—Gone Is Love
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

65775 VERY BEST OF LOVIN' SPOONFUL
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS



44381 MYSTIC MOODS ORCH.—English Muffins
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS



44746 DUKE ELLINGTON—70 Birthday Concert (2 record set)
SolSt LP

66595 BOBBY SHERMAN
—Here Comes Bobby
Metro LP, 8TR, CASS

17008 HANDEL—
Messiah (3 records)
Phili LP

31787 MAMAS & PAPAS—16 Greatest Hits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

38773 DENNIS YOST & CLASSICS IV—
Golden Greats
Imper LP, 8TR, CASS

66671 RARE EARTH
—Ecology
RarEa LP, 8TR, CASS

44758 FERRANTE & TEICHER—Love Is Soft Touch
LP, 8TR, CASS

42770 IRON BUTTERFLY—Metamorphosis
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

42704 CROSBY, STILLS, NASH & YOUNG—Deja Vu
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

38373 IKE & TINA TURNER—Workin' Together
Liber LP

44728 FERRANTE & TEICHER—Play Midnight Cowboy
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

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DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS OR TAPES?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NEVER! There are no cards which you must return. Only the records and tapes you want are sent—and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	NO LONG WAITS! Your order processed same day received. No shipping on cycle.

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$4.98 LPs average as low as $1.88
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Savings of 63% or more from recent Club sales up to $3.79 per LP. Start these giant savings now...not after you fulfill your obligation like the other clubs.

	Label	List Price	Avg. Club Price
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Peter, Paul & Mary—10 Years Together	WarBr	5.98	**2.19**
Creedence Clearwater Revival—Cosmo's Factory	Fanta	4.98	**1.88**
Lettermen—Reflections	Capit	4.98	**1.88**
Bessie Smith—Any Woman's Blues	Colum	5.98	**2.19**
Neil Young—After Gold Rush	Repri	4.98	**1.88**
Mantovani—In Concert	Londo	4.98	**1.88**
Santana—Abraxas	Colum	5.98	**2.19**
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Ordinary record and tape clubs make you choose from a few labels—usually their own! They make you buy up to 12 records or tapes a year—usually at list price—to fulfill your obligation. And if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you an item you don't want and a bill for $4.98, $5.98, $6.98, or $7.98! In effect, you may be charged almost double for your records and tapes.

BUT RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA ENDS ALL THAT!

We're the largest **all-label** record and tape club in the world. Choose any LP or tape (cartridges and cassettes), including new releases. No exceptions! Take as many, or as few, or no selections at all if you so decide. Discounts are GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 79% OFF! You always save at least 33⅓%. You get best sellers for as low as 99¢.

NO AUTOMATIC SHIPMENTS

With our Club there are no cards which you must return to prevent shipment of unwanted LP's or tapes (which you would have to return at your own expense if you have failed to send written notice not to ship). **We send only what you order.**

HOW CAN WE BREAK ALL RECORD AND TAPE CLUB RULES?

We are the only major record and tape club NOT OWNED...NOT CONTROLLED...NOT SUBSIDIZED by any record or tape manufacturer anywhere. Therefore, we are not obliged by company policy to push any one label. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments from offering the very newest LP's and tapes.

Join RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA now and take advantage of this special **Introductory Membership Offer.** Choose any 3 LPs or any 1 tape shown here* (worth up to $20.94) and mail coupon with check or money order for $5.00 membership fee (a small handling and mailing fee for your free LPs or tapes will be sent later). This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP—and you never pay another club fee. Your savings have already more than made up for the nominal membership fee.

If you want to give Gift Memberships to friends and relatives, this same special offer applies to each and every one of them. You can choose the free selections for them, or you can allow your gift recipients to make their own choice (in which case we will rush them an Order Certificate with the first shipment of their materials. **As a Special Bonus to you for signing up a gift member, we'll give you an extra FREE LP or tape per each gift member you enroll.**

NOW YOU CAN CHARGE IT

If you prefer, you may charge your membership and any Gift Memberships to one of your credit cards. We honor four different plans. Check your preference and fill-in your account number on the coupon.

LOOK WHAT YOU GET

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- FREE **Giant Master LP and Tape Catalog**—lists all readily available LPs and tapes (cartridges and cassettes) of **all labels** (including foreign) ... **all musical categories.**
- FREE **Disc and Tape Guide** — The Club's own Magazine, and special Club sale announcements which regularly bring you news of just-issued new releases and "extra discount" specials.
- FREE **ANY 3 Stereo LPs or any 1 Tape** shown here (worth up to $20.94) with absolutely no obligation to buy anything ever)!

GUARANTEED INSTANT SERVICE

All LPs and tapes ordered by members are shipped same day received (orders from the Master Catalog may take a few days longer). ALL RECORDS AND TAPES GUARANTEED—factory new and completely satisfactory or replacements will be made without question.

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

If you aren't absolutely delighted with our discounts (up to 79%)—return items within 10 days and membership fee will be returned AT ONCE!

***If you and gift members can't find 3 LPs or 1 tape here, you can defer your selection and choose from expanded list later.**

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CLUB HEADQUARTERS
YORK, PENNSYLVANIA 17405 **X770N**

Yes—Rush me a lifetime Membership Card, Free Giant Master LP & Tape Catalog, and Disc & Tape Guide at this Special Membership Offer.
Also send me the 3 FREE LPs or 1 FREE tape which I have indicated below (with a bill for a small mailing and handling charge). I enclose my $5.00 lifetime membership fee. This entitles me to buy any LPs or tapes at discounts up to 79%, plus a small mailing and handling charge. I am not obligated to buy any records or tapes—no yearly quota. If not completely delighted I may return items above within 10 days for immediate refund of membership fee.

Choose **3 FREE LPs** or **1 FREE TAPE**

☐ 8TR ☐ CASS

or ☐ **Defer Selection**—send expanded list.

Also add... Gift Memberships at $5.00 each to my request along with 3 FREE LPs or 1 FREE tape each. (A small handling and mailing fee for gift members' free LPs or tapes will be sent to you later.) (Attach separate sheet with names and addresses of gift members. Note on sheet either the free selections or that you want gift member to choose his own free selections. Also indicate your free bonus LP or tape (note 8TR or Cass.) for signing up a gift member.)

I enclose $ ..... covering my $5.00 lifetime membership plus any Gift Memberships at $5.00 each.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

If APO-FPO address, add soc. security # _____

CHARGE IT to my credit card. I am charging $ _____ to cover my $5.00 membership and any Gift Memberships at $5.00 each (mailing and handling fee for each FREE LP and tape selected by both me and the gift members will be added).

Check one: ☐ **Diners Club** ☐ **Master Charge** ☐ **American Express** ☐ **BankAmericard**

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Signature _____

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If your child gets the idea that man has threatened animals with extinction, blame television.

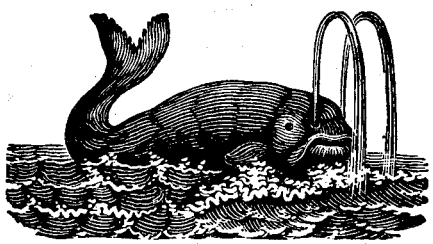
When animals are threatened with extinction, the whole balance of nature is threatened. And ultimately man himself is threatened.

One of the reasons you're aware of this problem is television.

In the next two months, television will examine the precarious situation in the animal kingdom, with specials on how some animals have made it, some are barely making it, and some haven't made it at all.

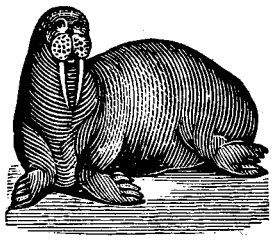
Television will show you how this is affecting the rest of the environment. While there's still time to do something about it.

These and other programs of special interest are listed below.



Discovery. America's Oldest City; Land at Flaming Gorge; Part Way to Majors; Lights, Cameras, Underwater Adventure; Plain People; Hong Kong—Parts 1 & 2; Greenfield Village; School for Snowfighters. Sundays, Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31; Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28 (11:30 am-12 Noon).

Wild Kingdom. Secret of Rock Ridge; Rulers of the Kalahari; Lions Under the Net; Hippo!; Great Barrier Reef—Parts 1 & 2; To Rope a Grizzly; Roundup on the Outback; Killers of the Rupununi. Sundays, Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31; Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28 (7-7:30 pm).



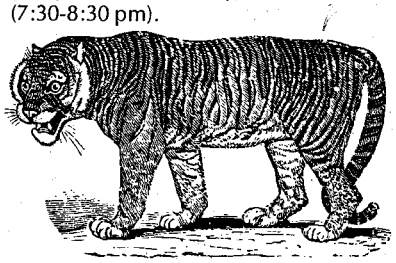
Family Specials. Say Goodbye to Endangered Species; Elephant Country; American Wilderness; Ringling Bros. Circus; Wildfire!; They've Killed President Lincoln! Fridays, Jan. 8, 15, 29; Feb. 5, 12 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Lions Are Free. Documentary sequel to motion picture *Born Free*. Friday, Jan. 8 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Issues and Answers. Report and forecast by ABC News correspondents. Sunday, Jan. 10 (1-2 pm).

Projection '71. NBC News correspondents' predictions. Sunday, Jan. 10 (5-6:30 pm).

Lagoon of Lost Ships. Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau—Exploring island group of Truk. Monday, Jan. 11 (7:30-8:30 pm).

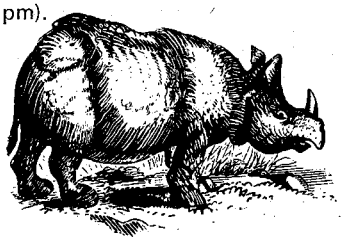


National Polling Day: What Americans Think. Live, nationwide poll by Louis Harris on current issues. Wednesday, Jan. 13 (10-11 pm).

Jack and the Beanstalk. Musical production. Friday, Jan. 15 (7:30-8:30 pm.)

Arthur Godfrey's America: The Everglades. A tour of the national park. Saturday, Jan. 16 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Meet the New Senators. Interviews with newly elected senators. Sunday, Jan. 17 (6-7 pm).



NBC Experiment in Television. What Color is the Wind?; A Bad Case of Shakespeare; Buckminster Fuller; The Cube; The Engagement. Sundays, Jan. 24, 31; Feb. 7, 21, 28 (5-6 pm).

The Children's Health Test. Report on youth's health problems, including addiction. Wednesday, Jan. 27 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Man's Thumb on Nature's Balance. Study of the complexity of conservation problems. Wednesday, Jan. 27 (10-11 pm).

NBC Children's Theatre. Super Plastic Elastic Goggles; Circus Town. Saturdays, Jan. 30 (12 Noon-1 pm); Feb. 27 (11 am-12 Noon).

CBS Children's Film Festival. Miguel, Felipa and Geronimo Jones; Lionheart; Tiko and the Shark; Ransom of Red Chief; Little Wooden Horse and Glamador. Sundays, Jan. 31; Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28 (4:30-5:30 pm).

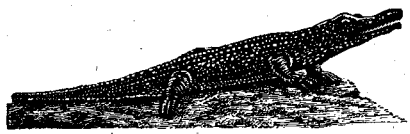
The Price. Hallmark Hall of Fame—Arthur Miller's drama, starring George C. Scott, Colleen Dewhurst, David Burns, Barry Sullivan. Wednesday, Feb. 3 (7:30-9 pm).

It Couldn't Be Done. Salute to Americans who turned "impossible" projects into realities. Tuesday, Feb. 9 (8-9 pm).

It's Your Dog, Charlie Brown. Snoopy goes to obedience school. Saturday, Feb. 13 (7:30-8 pm).

The Great Mojave Desert, National Geographic Society—Struggle for survival in the desert. Saturday, Feb. 13 (8-9 pm).

Everglades National Park. Exploration of area's ecological problems. Tuesday, Feb. 16 (7:30-8:30 pm).



REGULARLY SCHEDULED PROGRAMS

Monday through Friday: Sunrise Semester/The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sesame Street/Misterogers' Neighborhood

Tuesday: First Tuesday (appearing first Tuesday each month)/CBS Reports/60 minutes

Saturday: In the Know/The Reluctant Dragon and Mr. Toad/The Tomfoolery Show/Hot Dog/ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sunday: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/Camera Three/Bullwinkle/Discovery/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Directions/Issues and Answers/Wild Kingdom/TheWonderful World of Disney

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

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Georges Lefebvre.
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Well-known statesmen, scholars and community leaders belong to The History Book Club. But by accepting our tyrants offer, you can also enjoy the company of villains.

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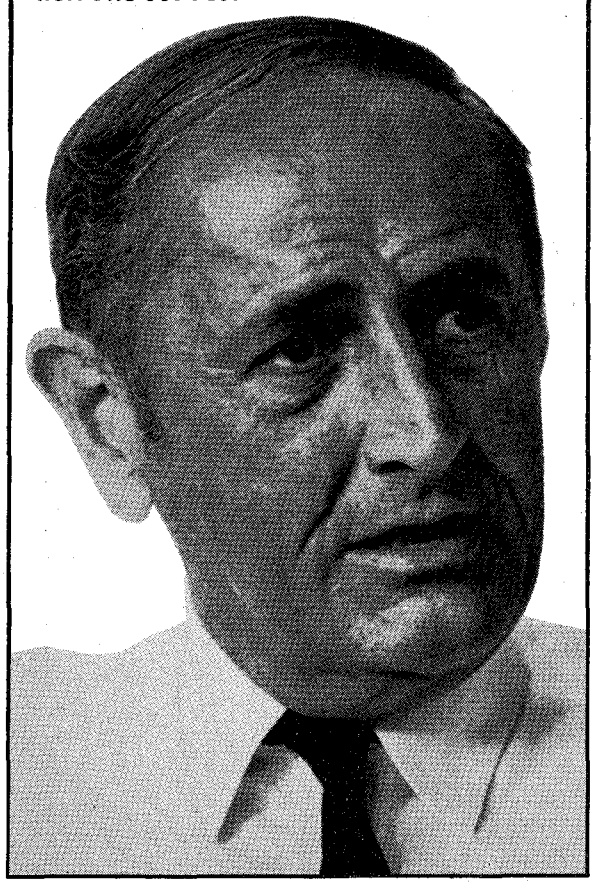
"Everybody's organized but the people."

John Gardner asks you to join him in forming a mighty "Citizen's Lobby," concerned not with the advancement of special interests but with the well-being of the nation.

After spending the last 5 years in Washington as Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare and as Chairman of the Urban Coalition, John Gardner is convinced that only an aroused and organized citizenry can revitalize "The System" and change the nation's disastrous course.



I know that many of you share my concern ove what is happening to our country.

That is why I am coming to you; to ask you to joi me in forming a new, independent, non-partisa organization that could be an effective force in re building America.

It will be known as Common Cause.

It will not be a third party, but a third force i American life, deriving its strength from a commo desire to solve the nation's problems and revitalize i institutions of government.

Wherever you touch the public process in thi country today, almost without exception, you wil find a failure of performance.

The air we breathe is foul. The water we drink i impure. Our public schools are in crisis. Our court cry out for reform. Race conflict is deepening. Un employment is rising. The housing shortage ha driven rents through the roof.

The things that government is supposed to do, it i not doing. The things it is not supposed to do—inter fering with the lives and liberties of its citizens—i is doing.

How we can work together in Common Cause.

The first thing Common Cause will do is to assist you to speak and act in behalf of legislation designed to solve the nation's problems. We will keep you up to date on crucial issues before Congress. We will suggest when and where to bring pressure to bear.

Common Cause is an outgrowth of the Urban Coalition Action Council. Operating under a governing board of extraordinary diversity (mayors, leaders from business, labor, minority and religious groups), the Action Council proved to be astonishingly effective in influencing major legislation.

So we know from first hand experience that citizen action can get results.

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I shall not attempt to list here all the issues with which Common Cause will be concerned.

We believe there is great urgency in ending the Vietnam war now. We believe there must be a major reordering of national priorities, and that the Government cannot go on spending $200,000,000 a day for "national defense". We believe the problems of poverty and race must be among our first concerns. We will call for new solutions in housing, employment, education, health, consumer protection, environment, family planning, law enforcement and the administration of justice.

We intend to take the phrase "Common Cause" seriously. The things that unite us as a people are more important than the things that divide us. No particular interest group can prosper for long if the nation is disintegrating. Every group must have an overriding interest in the well-being of the whole society.

One of our aims will be to revitalize politics and government. The need is great. State governments are mostly feeble. City government is archaic. The Congress of the United States is in grave need of overhaul. The parties are virtually useless as instruments of the popular will. We can no longer accept such obsolescence.

Most parts of the system have grown so rigid that they cannot respond to impending disaster. They are so ill-designed for contemporary purposes that they waste taxpayers' money, mangle good programs and frustrate every good man who enters the system.

The solutions are not mysterious. Any capable city councilman, state legislator, party official, or Member of Congress could tell you highly practical steps that might be taken tomorrow to make the system more responsive. But there has been no active, powerful, hard-hitting constituency to fight for such steps. We can provide that kind of constituency.

Skeptics say "But you can't really change such things." Nonsense. The Congress of the United States has changed in dramatic ways since its founding. Why should we assume it has lost the capacity to change further?

The political parties have changed even more dramatically since the birth of the Republic. They can change again.

Many of you share my anger at institutions and individuals that have behaved irresponsibly. But, if we're going to focus our anger, a good place to begin is with ourselves.

We have not behaved like a great people.

We are not being the people we set out to be. We have not lived by the values we profess to honor. And we will never get back on course until we take some tough, realistic steps to revitalize our institutions. We had better get on with it.

In recent years we have seen too much complacency, narrow self-interest, meanness of mind and spirit, irrational hatred and fear. But as I travel around the country, I see something else. I see great remaining strength in this nation. I see deeper reserves of devotion and community concern than are being tapped by present leadership. I see many, many Americans who would like to help rebuild this nation but don't know where to begin.

I invite you to be among the first to join us in Common Cause.

We cannot and should not depend on big contributors. The money to support our work must come from the members themselves.

We therefore ask you to enclose a check for $15 with your membership application.

If you can afford more, send an additional contribution.

With a large and active membership, we can begin to remake America.

—John W. Gardner

Common Cause
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I would like to become an active member of Common Cause. I understand that my annual dues will be $15, which will help support the work of the organization.

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The Ninety-First

What, in the world was the Senate doing in the final days of the Ninety-first Congress? Making a collective fool of itself and a mockery of the legislative process? Richard Nixon thought so; he threatened to use the Twentieth Amendment to keep Congress in virtually continuous session because it hadn't passed his welfare reform bill (Nixon didn't start pushing the bill until the eleventh hour). GOP leader Hugh Scott thought so; he accused fellow senators of dawdling, posturing, delaying. Even Democratic leader Mike Mansfield conceded the Senate was a theater of the absurd – there were "filibusters on filibusters and filibusters within filibusters."

No more to it than that? Let's take a look at what the Senate, for all its bombast, blather and delay, was trying to do.

(1) It was trying to keep Mr. Nixon from sleepwalking the US into another Southeast Asian war. That's bad? Senators Fulbright, Cooper, Church and others have learned something from the six years of agony since White House-Senate somnambulism gave us the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. They're not sure Nixon has got the message, or believes it. They don't trust his motives in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos – who does? And even if the President really does want to get out and stay out, will the Pentagon let him? So the Senate passed the Cooper-Church amendment barring US troops from Cambodia, a landmark reassertion of its responsibility in foreign affairs.

(2) It was trying to break the military's stranglehold on American policy. For years, as *Washington Post* reporter Spencer Rich points out, Congress "has acceded with monotonous Pentagon and/or Presidential requests for larger weapons systems, more weapons, more Presidential authority . . . for military ventures overseas." For years, billions of dollars in military spending were whooped through both chambers with only a day's debate, without amendments, without scrutiny, without thought.

Things were different this time. The Safeguard ABM was doubted and dissected in the Senate as no new weapons system has been challenged since the big bomber fight of a decade ago (and that was primarily an interservice rivalry). Even in the hawkish House, Chairman Mahon of the Appropriations Committee quietly clipped $2 billion from military spending requests. The Pentagon is on notice.

(3) It was trying to block the Supersonic Transport, which the US needs like more used-car lots. The Administration's arguments for the SST were among the most specious of the session; against them, Sen. William Proxmire mounted a filibuster.

Filibuster! Dirty word. Middle-aged liberals grew up hating the filibuster in the hands of Southern Bilbos blocking civil rights legislation. But it depends on whose ox is being gored. What if a filibuster is the only weapon available to stand against the military state, against another Asian morass, against SST noise and pollution? And don't forget that pro-Administration senators filibustered for seven weeks against the Cooper-Church amendment until Nixon could get US troops out of Cambodia.

Because they used it lavishly in the Ninety-first Congress, the filibuster now poses a moral dilemma for liberals. They can't quite look at it as they once did. But liberals thrive on moral dilemmas. And when the filibuster is abolished or modified, as it should be, it won't be Strom Thurmond or Barry Goldwater (or James Buckley or Richard Nixon) who do it. That necessary repair, too, will be done by the Bleeding Harts, Proxmires, and McGoverns. Joined by newcomers like Saxbe of Ohio, Hughes of Iowa, Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Cranston of California, who already have persuaded the Senate to try out a set of streamlining procedures next year.

A lot of the criticism aimed at the Ninety-first Congress was deserved: fare reform; the delay on appropriations bills, which rivaled old Clarence Cannon and Carl Hayden at their worst; the House's failure to pass the McGovern-Javits or Foley-Quie food stamp bills; an important consumer protection bill blocked by the absence of Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.); a stronger Equal Employment Opportunity Act held up in the House Rules Committee.

But wait another minute. The Senate blocked the nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court. Muskie's monumental anti-pollution bill was approved; it actually could force the closing of polluting factories, shut down auto production lines, ban cars from downtown areas. A good employment and manpower bill was passed (Nixon vetoed it, then lit the national Christmas tree; "a hearty Merry Christmas to the unemployed). Congress enacted postal reform, draft reform, improved unemployment insurance, new voting rights amendments, the first population control legislation in US history, an important job safety and occupational health bill, among others.

The Ninety-first's record, in other words, wasn't quite as bad as painted. Mr. Nixon initiated some of these domestic measures, supported others, but somehow managed to cast himself as a faineant President, a do-nothing. More accurately, a don't-really-care.

How does Nixon do it? How does he manage to make himself look so bad? He submits worthwhile proposals to Congress, no gainsaying it. But somehow there's always a news story a few months later telling how some political types in this or that department watered down the proposal or cut the funds or fired the innovator.

The other day, three of the President's domestic advisers held a backgrounder for White House reporters. They said the Administration had restored "balance and stability." Proof? Why, said one, in the last six months there haven't been nearly as many ghetto riots and campus disturbances. Confronted with that kind of logic, backward reels the mind.

Whitney Young of the Urban League, after meeting with Nixon, told reporters the mood of ghetto blacks was one of frustration, hopelessness and despair. No riots, just despair.

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Two Years of Nixonomics

Quiet confidence and no nonsense – this was the air of the new President and his advisers as they surveyed the economic horizon two years ago. The profligacies of the past were to be replaced by a "new realism in the management of economic policy," as Mr. Nixon put it. "We can control inflation," he said in January 1969, "without an increase in unemployment." An official goal of *perfect* price stability was announced by Arthur F. Burns, then Presidential counselor and now Federal Reserve Board chairman: "a zero-percent annual increase in the consumer price index," together with full employment. Those, of course, were the heady days of youth for the future gnomes of nixonomics, and the dreams they spun were soon to be qualified, if not modified beyond recognition.

The first year of the new Administration, as the original plan was drawn, was supposed to lay the groundwork for a stable, prosperous economy. A 10-percent surcharge on incomes, scheduled to expire on June 30, 1969, was extended to the end of the year. The growth of federal expenditures was pared to less than half the average annual increase of the previous three years. The investment tax credit was revoked. More dramatically, the expansion of the money supply was reduced from a 7.7-percent increase in 1968 to a virtual halt by the second half of 1969. The brakes had been applied to our "profligacies." And what happened? The most spectacular reaction was a three- or four-percentage-point jump in interest rates to levels unexplored since the financial debacle of the Civil War. Predictably, there was a housing crisis. The stock market took a nosedive in the middle of the year. Industrial production leveled off. Inflation, as registered by the consumer price index, worsened. The average price increase was 6.1 percent during 1969, the sharpest 12-month advance in 18 years.

As 1970 got underway, the impression given was that everything was going according to calculation, despite appearances to the contrary. Substantial lags between policies and their effect are to be expected, explained Paul W. McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. In its first annual report, however, the Council noticeably toned down its earlier, flamboyant promises and presented a sobered though still optimistic prognosis: in the first half of 1970, prices and output would slow down as fiscal and monetary

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inflation to heel and permit a flattening out or a modest upturn in the second half of the year. The scheme was to keep money fairly tight, interest rates not much below their historic peaks, and keep a tight grip on such potentially inflationary government expenditures as those on education, housing and medical research. By 1970's end, we were told, the rate of increase in the consumer price index would be reduced from its 1969 peak of about 6 percent to 3 percent, at an annual rate. Temporarily, the Administration judiciously conceded, we might have to pay a small price for stabilization in the form of a "modest" rise in unemployment, since production would be retarded.

How much? Just a very little, said the three Economic Council members, McCracken, Stein and Houthakker. This was echoed in the President's assurance to Congress that unemployment would be kept "low." How much? Finally, White House spokesmen – specifically, McCracken and Burns – informed the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that unemployment might rise as high as 4.3 percent of the labor force briefly, but would then decline. Not 4.4 percent, not 4.2. There was an encouraging exactitude.

Well, output did slow down in the first half of 1970, but it also slowed down in the second. Unemployment did hit the 4.3-percent ceiling, but then kept going to nearly 6 percent by the end of 1970. For the year as a whole, the physical production of goods and services (as measured by the real GNP) scored its first absolute decline since the deep recession of 1958. Meanwhile, inflation remained impervious to "inflation alerts" and similar imprecations. Through late fall and early winter the consumer price index rose at a pace nearly twice as great as the expected three-percent annual rate.

Such was the situation as the new year began. Close to five million people were jobless, of whom two million had been thrown out of work since December 1969 – a casualty list of unknown soldiers (unknown to us, that is) in a lost war against inflation. The overall unemployment rate was close to six percent of the labor force, but for most of the economically weaker segments of society it was materially greater than this: nine percent for semi-skilled factory workers, 10 percent for unskilled laborers, 16 percent for white teenagers, 32 percent for black teenagers. Though certain types of engineers and physicists were hurt by the recent contraction of the ordnance and space industries, their plight bore little weight in the total. The unemployment rate for all professional and technical workers together at the end of 1970 was only two percent, and this group represents only a small fraction of the total labor force. Dividends were slightly higher in 1970 than in 1969, and interest payments were up by fully 10 percent. Unemployment rates were far below the national average in all administrative, entrepre-

cutbacks. In the war against inflation, as in the war against North Vietnam, it was the disadvantaged and the poor who got it in the neck.

Operating at only 75 percent of capacity, business has been trimming plans for new investment. In the presence of spreading unemployment, shortened work weeks and rising prices, consumers have been spending warily. On the other side, interest rates have come down modestly, housing starts have bounced back from their low of the middle of last year, and the stock market has shown renewed strength. In the weeks ahead, some cheery economic news may be expected, reflecting efforts of the auto, steel, and some other industries to make up for time lost during the General Motors strike. The economy is on a razor's edge, and authoritative action by the federal government could push the balance either way.

But we have been amply forewarned that no authoritative action will be taken, if the President and his advisers have their way. The new game plan is to permit a restrained business expansion through 1971, just enough to keep unemployment in the neighborhood of its present six-percent rate, but no faster. The stubborn hope is that the reserve army of about five million unemployed, given one more year, will finally turn the trick of licking inflation. Then, at the end of the year, a liberalized monetary and fiscal policy will be free to stimulate output and employment (along with profits and, no doubt, wages and prices) in time for 1972.

But in assessing the reliability of these forecasts, the reader is advised to remember the stunning inaccuracy of previous forecasts. The tools of nixonomics – classical fiscal and monetary remedies – have given sufficient evidence of their unreliability. Nor can we count as a significant new contribution the President's recent decision to engage in general exhortations aimed at getting capital and labor to "play nice." A firmer and more up-to-date stand is required of the federal government. No economy, it is true, can grow at fever pitch year after year; some pauses are required. But then public employment and generous training facilities should be available for the less skilled and disadvantaged who otherwise take the brunt of business slowdowns. Recessions do not cure inflation, even though at the very best they may temporarily retard it. Hence, the federal government has an obligation to transform economic anarchy into reasonable order by establishing general standards that all can see, for the behavior of prices, wages and other incomes. Government must also be prepared to make such restraints mandatory when necessary. Forty years ago the times required a shift from the mythology of Herbert Hoover to the realism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Nixon's vision of the economic scene, with its Whittier worship of the marketplace, is as outdated now as Hoover's was then.

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The O'Hara Commission on Rules meets in Washington, DC January 21-22 to recommend a new apportionment formula for picking delegates to the 1972 national Democratic convention. Commission chairman James O'Hara (D, Mich.) originally favored allocating delegates on the basis of the Democratic vote in the last Presidential election. Now he's beginning to question the wisdom of "writing off states which didn't like the last candidate." Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D, Mo.) who is not a member of the commission but has good credentials with party reformers, has put out a paper urging that population be the sole basis for allocating delegates. The formula of Don Peterson of Wisconsin is a compromise: 50 percent of the delegates chosen on the basis of the last Presidential vote, 25 percent on population, and 25 percent on the electoral system (members of Congress), so as to give the small states a boost.

One study prepared by William J. Crotty illustrates the commission's problem. Crotty distributed delegates under four formulas – population, electoral votes, the procedure used in 1968, and the Democratic vote in 1968. He found that:

► The East would have 28 percent of the delegates under population, 27 percent under electoral votes and 28.9 percent under the 1968 method. But it would zoom to 34 percent on the basis of the Democratic vote in 1968, thus favoring big states where the Democratic vote is concentrated.

► The Midwest would have 32 percent under population, 31 percent under electoral votes, 31.4 percent under the 1968 formula and 33 percent under the Democratic vote in 1968. The Midwest has enough industrial concentrations to protect itself under a "one Democrat, one vote" allocation.

► The South would have 24 percent under population, 24 percent under electoral vote, and 20.3 percent under the 1968 formula, but only 15 percent under the "one Democrat, one vote" principle. It would have to absorb the gains made by all the other regions, a loss that would give Nixon-Agnew forces something to talk about in the South.

► The West would have 16 percent under population, 18 percent under electoral votes, 19.9 percent under the 1968 formula, and 18 percent under "one Democrat, one vote." Its greatest strength would be under the '68 formula, an indication of the distortion that flows from the system of bonus allocation plus the National Committee's past generosity in awarding each of its members full votes. (Both of those are certain to go).

Although variations by region aren't too great under any of these plans (except for the South), there are what Crotty calls "drastic fluctuations" among states. Alabama is an example. Using a 1000-delegate base, 1968 formula but only six under the "one Democrat, one vote" plan. Alaska, which provides the liberal bloc in Congress with one senator and one congressman, would have eight under the 1968 formula, six under the electoral college plan, but just one under population and Democratic vote. The lost votes would be picked up by larger states: New York, under a 1000-delegate base, would have 73 under the 1968 formula, 94 under population, 80 under electoral college votes and 108 under "one Democrat, one vote." California would get 77, 89, 74 and 104. Crotty warns that "one Democrat, one vote" represents "a short-run strategy that locks the party into its showing in any one previous election or set of elections. It limits the flexibility of the party and its ability to reach out for new voters and new areas of support."

Another question before the commission is the size of the convention. Early zeal for cutting back seems to have softened, as illustrated by Peterson's comments: "We have to decide whether it's going to be a representative group or a deliberative body. Clearly, it's not the latter." Peterson is ready to propose setting the number of delegates at 3000, cutting down on alternates if necessary for reasons of space. Connecticut's Ann Wexler disagrees. She recalls 1968, when "a majority of delegates just wandered around with nothing to do" – and with no idea what they were voting on. One of the recommendations adopted by the O'Hara Commission could remedy the latter. A schedule is set up for the platform, rules and credentials committees (each of which will pick its own chairman), requiring each to publish its findings before the convention, giving delegates time to study them.

A substantial bloc of the commission isn't happy with one recommendation – the ban on TV cameras on the floor. It was inspired by resentment over TV coverage in 1968 plus the confusion that arises when a TV safari pushes through the hall. The ban should be revoked, so the public can see and hear for itself.

Justice Douglas

The sordid, politically motivated attempt led by House Republican Leader Gerald Ford to find grounds for impeaching Justice William O. Douglas has come to nothing – rather, has returned to the nothing from which it came. The Justice has been investigated up and down. A House subcommittee has drawn up a huge report, and has declared by majority vote of its members that there is no evidence to support impeachment. It is not true that the Justice consorted with various gamblers and pornographers, attempted to

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vice to his friends. Impeachment talk has been irresponsible all along, is all the more so now, and should stop.

Justice Douglas continues to sit, and that is as it should be if we are to safeguard the continued independence of members of the Court. But it was quite wrong, just the same, for Justice Douglas to have served, as he did for many years, as a salaried officer and director of the Parvin Foundation. It was wrong for him to engage over a nine-year period, from 1960 to 1969, in what for anyone else would have been a full-time career as writer and lecturer, producing, together with his foundation salary, more income than he drew from the government for his service on the Court. However abundant his talents and extraordinary his energies, it is very hard to believe that there was no skimping in the performance of his judicial duties.

Justice Douglas was not in Las Vegas, as charged, to meet with Bobby Baker while the Court was sitting on October 22, 1962. But he *was* in Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia under the auspices of New York University for nine days including October 22. That is how the charge is disproved. The least that can be said is that Justice Douglas has run two active careers. The American people expect him to run only one while he is in their judicial service, because they want the benefit of his full energies and talents, because they do not want him to have to disqualify himself in too many cases coming before him as judge on account of contacts he made in his other career, and because they don't want him to be embarrassed in the performance of his judicial duties by the activities of his various publishers and other business connections.

Courage

"This is what separated us from you; we made demands. You were satisfied to serve the power of your nation and we dreamed of giving ours her truth." So wrote Albert Camus to a German friend in 1943, striving to explain what possessed those Frenchmen who chose to resist the Nazi occupation following the fall of France. In Spain, thousands have sat in and struck for Basque autonomy in open defiance of the Franco regime. In Russia, Alexander Solzhenitsyn joins a band of dissident intellectuals pressing for human rights, a cause which other Soviet artists, scientists and even generals have been severely punished for advocating; a plane is hijacked and two Jews sentenced to death in Leningrad. In Poland, workers rebel against prolonged deprivations, and are shot.

The risks these rebels run are infinite, their chances of success infinitesimal (though Polish workers did secure some gains). The apparatus of the state surprison, torture, banish its victims to insane asylums.

What motivates men to dare so much for conviction with so little hope for gain? Partly it must be a faith in the future – not their own, or even their children's, but a distant day when history will vindicate them. Partly, too, it must be a need to affirm the humanity of man through immediate acts. Beyond this, there doubtlessly derives from rebellion a sense of self-respect, of camaraderie, sometimes even of exhilaration, that compensates for anticipated suffering, and gives individual meaning to life within a society subservient to state defined policies and myths.

It would be wrong to say that in America there is no opportunity for political courage; some politicians have been brave (one thinks of Senators Morse, Gruening, McCarthy, Goodell and Gore), as have participants in the civil rights and other movements. But it is a different, less demanding exercise. The hazards in America, by contrast with those in the Soviet Union, Spain, Greece, Brazil, South Vietnam, Czechoslovakia *et al.* are not so critical (a politician may lose his job, but not his life, or even his freedom; he can usually retire to a university or legal practice), and the chances for reward or recognition are plentiful (Abbie Hoffman has become quite a saleable author).

The Committee for Public Justice, a newly formed alliance of civil libertarians, asserted in a full-page *New York Times* ad recently that the shootings at Kent State and Jackson State, the passage of a "no-knock" law for Washington, DC, the subpoenaing of newsmen and other recent infringements of Constitutional rights "represent a dangerous trend toward repression." The developments cited by the committee are ominous enough, but they do not come near to making America a closed and fear-wracked society. Nor could it be said that America reached that low state even in the bleakest days of McCarthyism.

That in relatively open societies there are fewer opportunities to put one's life on the line is both a blessing and a source of some disappointment – there are many young romantics who yearn to display heroic courage, and not finding opportunities ready-made, feel compelled to create them, sometimes forgetting that the conditions which allow for heroic courage are normally harrowing for society.

"Grace under pressure" is a good description of the kind of courage we could use more of from political leaders and activist citizens alike; grace implies restraint as well as strength, responsibility as well as daring. It is worth reflecting, though, on the bravery of those in more oppressive settings than ours. We cannot know from this distance what qualities of the human spirit bring forth their rebellion; we can only marvel at those qualities and be thankful that they flower, sooner or later but nonetheless inevitably, when and where the need for them is greatest.

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Fasten Your Seat Belts

ivil Aeronautics Board Chairman Secor Browne mentioned the possibility a few weeks ago of "a flying Penn entral" going down "in a sea of red." The airlines are ideed becoming railroads in the sky.

Labor relations in the air transport industry have aditionally been poor but seem to be deteriorating. Northwest has just settled a prolonged strike. Mohawk emains on strike. National Airlines only recently settled a 14-month strike which was precipitated by a work rules dispute followed by the lockout of 1000 round mechanics. At Eastern Airlines pilots are disruntled over the firing of a captain for refusing to take off unless engine holding cans, which collect small mounts of waste jet fuel while the plane is on the round, were emptied by the ramp personnel before ach flight, an action which violated Eastern's established policy of letting this raw fuel discharge into the atnosphere shortly after liftoff.

According to figures just released, eight of the major airlines are expected to report losses in 1970 in excess of $250 million. Trans World Airlines, whose creditors are reported to be "clearly worried," recently had to revise its recent $50 million loss estimate to $65 million, and some analysts expect the final figure could be substantially higher. One result has been a spate of takeovers of the weaker carriers. Northwest, for example, is acquiring Northeast; American is taking over Transcaribbean; Eastern is absorbing Caribair; and both American and Continental are seeking control of Western. Pan American narrowly escaped a 1969 takeover attempt by a company engaged in casino and land development operations in the Bahamas. In most cases, the physical assets of these weaker carriers are largely owned by (or pledged to) banks and insurance companies. What is up for grabs is the "right of way" – that is, the route authority, granted by the government, to fly between such places as New York and Miami or Puerto Rico, or between Hawaii and the mainland.

The airlines' problems arise from a combination of high financing and operating costs, and dwindling traffic. The squeeze is largely of the carriers' own making. For one thing, they have for years pursued a policy of competing with one another not in price but in costly advertising and promotion, excessive numbers of flights, and massive equipment acquisitions not justified by traffic projections. A year ago when the first B-747 jumbo jets were beginning to come into service, the *Saturday Review* quoted Blaine Cooke, a TWA senior vice president as saying, "Economically there is no excuse for the airplane. An industry that had a rational control over its own technology would not introduce the 747 at this time because there is no need for it. It is an airplane at least five or ten years ahead of its time in terms of growth of the market. The plane . . . in fact may result in bankruptcies of some airlines, either bankruptcies or mergers." Nevertheless, TWA bought 15, costing about $24 million each. US airlines have spent about $3.5 billion on this new equipment.

Rather than reduce passenger fares to generate the additional traffic needed to fill up their new capacity, the industry has plunged into expensive promotional competition while seeking higher and higher fares. "We're turning our planes inside out," one series of TWA ads promises. "We're ripping out the coach section. We're throwing things away. The things you touch and taste will be new and different." This is part of the celebrated "seat war" raging in the industry, in which the carriers are vying with one another to provide the most spacious seats and the most luxurious surroundings for coach and economy passengers. In its fleet of 747s, TWA has a configuration of 342 seats instead of the 375 or 400 that could have been installed. These frills can only be supported at the expense of the public's interest in low-cost transportation service.

Airline management doesn't see itself as bearing any particular responsibility for the crisis. Instead, industry castigates the Civil Aeronautics Board for not granting swift and massive fare increases. Stuart Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association, which represents the scheduled carriers, accuses the CAB of allowing fares and freight rates "to fall behind the industry's economic needs to the point where we now see air service shrinking."

The CAB *has* in fact granted substantial fare increases, including a large across-the-board passenger fare hike last year, which was later held illegal – but not rolled back – by a federal appeals court. Then there was the ingenious cheat devised by the airlines, and approved by the Board in June, to get a $50-million hidden fare increase by rounding each fare upward to the next *higher* dollar; the CAB has subsequently repudiated this procedure, but again the fare level was not rolled back. In the past month the Board has announced its approval of a variety of selective (but substantial) fare increases. These will primarily affect users of various discount fares, including youth standby, night coach, and "Discover America" excursions, as well as passengers in various parts of the Northeast. It now costs 20 percent more to fly from New York to Chicago than it did in 1968; the fare from New York to Washington is scheduled from $17.85 to $27 (as of this month). More increases in domestic fares are being demanded and probably will be granted. Large increases are also pending in Transatlantic fares and other important international routes.

The higher fares go, the fewer people can afford to travel, and the lower gross revenues will be. The basic concept of demand elasticity – that is, traffic will increase when fares are lowered and will decrease when they are raised – is largely ignored by top CAB officials in their calculus. In the 1969 round of increases, the

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Board did not even consider the impact its decision would have on the number of passengers who would fly, simply "assuming" there would be no diversion or loss of traffic. That assumption has not proved true. For all the fare increases, the airlines are losing more and more money. Nevertheless, staff economists at the Board who argue that demand elasticity ought to be measured and considered cannot get an audience.

One sign of hope emerges. For the first time the Board, which has lived in comfortable familiarity with the carriers, finds itself having to respond to a newly activated and angry constituency – passengers. Congressman John Moss (D, Calif.) has been the foremost advocate of consumer interests in CAB fare cases. First Moss pressed the Board to abandon its secret meetings with airline executives (from which he and other members of the public were excluded) to discuss fare levels. He then went to court, along with 31 of his House colleagues, to have the entire domestic fare structure and the CAB procedures for setting fares declared illegal, winning a major victory when the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia sustained his contentions. The Court remanded the entire case back to the Board with orders to conduct an extensive across-the-board investigation, so that fares can be set in compliance with the Federal Aviation Act. Moss and his colleagues are actively participating in that investigation, urging the Board, among other things, to consider the need for restraints on excessive capacity and for a more sound overall fare structure. Specifically, Moss would like fares to be based on the time it takes to make the trip, rather than distance.

The CAB at first tried to shrug off Moss as a nuisance, but he has stung them hard enough that they have begun to take him more seriously. There is now a real possibility that Moss may become chairman of the powerful transportation subcommittee of the House Interstate Commerce Committee.

The intervention of the Moss group points up the impossibility of serving the public interest adequately through the traditional model of economic regulation, in which only those with direct economic interests have had an effective voice. The CAB, as well as other economic regulatory agencies such as the ICC and the Federal Power Commission, should do everything possible to encourage and support participation by such disinterested consumer advocates. It could mean the survival of the industries under their respective jurisdictions.

Reuben Robertson III

REUBEN ROBERTSON III, *a lawyer associated with the Center for Study of Responsive Law in Washington, was recently appointed chairman of the CAB's new Consumer Advisory Committee.*

The Nixon Watch

Halfway to Where?

I was still in the stupor induced by the series of pres briefings with which the White House celebrated th approaching end of Mr. Nixon's first two years i office, and wondering whether the President and hi people could really be suffering from the paranoi that their pleas for understanding and appreciatio seemed to suggest, when I came upon a book entitle *The Nixon Poems* (Eve Merriam; Atheneum; $5.95) It is a savage book, illustrated with cruel caricature in photo montage. Its poems are the kind achieved b printing prose in broken lines and one of them headed "My Prez," reads in its entirety: *of whom else can I say/ that/ when he does/ something good/ there is/ a bad reason for it.*

Reading that squib and others like it, I went a littl sick inside. Much that I had written about Richar Nixon in the past two years said or implied the sam thing about him. Seeing it in this form and setting, I perceived in it a quality of sour and persistent dis belief that I did not like to recognize but had to rec ognize in my own work and in my own attitude to ward the President. If, in the briefings to which I and other White House reporters had been exposed, the President's assistants and spokesmen had displayed a resentment that was both genuine and disturbing – a feeling that the media and Congress and the public had failed *them*, rather than that they and their Pres ident had failed the country – I had to concede upon reflection that there was a basis for their sense of injury. President Nixon had done and tried to do good things for good reasons or, judged at worst, for the mix of "good" and "bad" reasons that is common to us all, and it was true that the good had often been obscured or ignored. Here, I had to admit, was a real problem – for journalists, for Mr. Nixon, for the country.

Departing Counsellor Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who will have left the White House and returned to the Harvard faculty when this is read, addressed himself to the problem in one of the year-end briefings He had been the President's senior in-house Democrat, his most imaginative and innovative assistant, in Mr. Nixon's words his "creative thinker," a certified though somewhat cankered liberal who in his time at the White House had reacted with ever-increasing bitterness to what he considered to be the liberal community's inability and refusal to discern the good in Nixon and in Nixon policies that Pat Moynihan discerned. His farewell discourse was not originally intended for the press, but for the private instruction of the President and his Cabinet and some 200 other officials. It was thought afterward to be so persuasive

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nd penetrating that a few reporters were invited to ear a tape recording of it, and a transcript was distributed.

Moynihan recalled the fissured country that Mr. Nixon undertook to lead in 1969: "it was coming apart," Moynihan said, what with the divisive agonies of Vietnam, racial and sectional conflict at home, and a corrosive distrust of government that arose from government's failure to deliver what it promised. Remember how it was, consider how it is, and acknowledge – Moynihan pleaded – that receding war, a quieted country, and serious efforts to identify and repair the deficiencies of government comprise "a record of some good fortune and much genuine achievement." And yet, he said in a tone of mourning wonder, "how little the Administration seems to be credited with what it has achieved. To the contrary, it is as if the disquiet and distrust in the nation as a whole has been eased by being focused on the government in Washington.

Why so? In part because (quoting Tocqueville) Americans relish their anxieties, cherish their cares and (Moynihan speaking) have "the habit of reducing the most complex issues to the most simplistic moralisms." Excessive moralism "drives out thought," arouses "expectations that cannot be satisfied," and inspires a rhetoric "that constantly, in effect, declares the government in power disqualified for the serious tasks at hand." A current consequence is that "depressing, even frightening things are being said about the Administration. They are not true. This has been a company of honorable and able men, led by a President of singular courage and compassion. . . ."

But not a company of men who were sufficient to the President's need. If the complex problems with which he dealt were to be adequately understood, and his efforts to resolve them were to be adequately appreciated, it would be "necessary for members of the Administration, the men in this room, to be far more attentive to what it is the President has said and proposed. Time and again, the President has said things of startling insight, taken positions of great political courage and intellectual daring, only to be greeted with silence or incomprehension, even in our own ranks. The prime consequence of this is that the people in the nation who take these matters seriously have never been required to take us seriously." Moynihan's serious people (presumably those resistant liberals!) had no interest in assisting a President who did not value them, but the fault was not theirs. The fault lay with Presidential men who failed to follow up their President's pronouncements "with a sustained, reasoned, reliable second and third order of advocacy."

Then followed the most arresting passage in this unusual statement. "Deliberately or no," Moynihan said, "the impression was allowed to arise with respect to the widest range of Presidential initiatives that the President wasn't really behind them. It was a devastating critique. The thrust of the President's program was turned against – *him*! How else to interpret an attempt to deal with such serious matters in so innovative a way, if in fact the effort was not serious?

"It comes to this. The Presidency requires much of those who will serve it, and first of all it requires comprehension. A large vision of America has been put forth. It can only be furthered by men who will share it." It really comes, of course, to Mr. Nixon. Perhaps, Moynihan said, only those who work with him at the White House can know the President as they know him – "caring, working, hoping for this country that he has made greater already and which he will make greater still."

But – Has he? Will he? The large vision of America that the President has put forth to Pat Moynihan has not been put forth to me. The Nixon vision of America that comes to me is of a country quieted, yes, but in the deadly quiet of protest reduced to futility. The receding war that the Moynihans at the White House see appears to me to be a war that the President promises to end and deliberately prolongs. The President who seemed to me a year ago to have attained a level of decency that I had not thought him capable of attaining presented me and the country with the nomination of Carswell to the Supreme Court – an act of colossal indecency that Mr. Nixon still defends and promises to repeat, given another vacancy, perhaps with a nominee of higher calibre but with the intent of appealing to the same regressive Southerners who hailed Carswell as their champion.

So the problem of belief, the problem that Pat Moynihan addressed and did not resolve, remains for people like me. Mr. Nixon, with his shifts from the stately and often well-considered style of his formal messages to his reckless rhetoric on the campaign stump, seems to me to make anything approaching a sustained belief in his wisdom, his compassion, his courage, his good faith impossible. Moynihan blames campaign performances upon "the political process" and the compulsions it places upon politicians: "Elections are rarely our finest hours," he said. "This is when we tend to be most hysterical, most abusive, least thoughtful about problems, and least respectful of complexity." True enough: it was true of Mr. Nixon and of his Vice President, Spiro Agnew, in 1970.

Moynihan quoted the President's remark that "we are in the middle of the journey" and added: "Where it will end, we do not know." I doubt that it will end, for most of the country, in that state of confidence in Richard Nixon that I would prefer to share but cannot share with Professor Moynihan.

John Osborne

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Latin America: 1971

Progress Is Not Just Around the Corner

A year ago, this journal offered "two cheers for Nixon" when he proclaimed his new policy of "Action for Progress for the Americas." Since then, we have seen in Latin America increasing economic nationalism, increasing militarism, an increasingly pragmatic attitude toward Cuban and Cuban-style programs, and an increasing penchant for direct action by right- and left-wing movements; while nothing at all resembling the promised Nixon policy has come out of Washington.

Chile, perhaps the most mature democracy in the region, has elected a Marxist president, and the US, while maintaining formal diplomatic relations, is apparently competing with the new government to see which can move faster in severing economic ties. Argentina recently replaced a strong military dictatorship with a weak and divided military dictatorship that is unable to manage resurgent inflation, lagging production, rising civil unrest, or the still potent political influence, after 15 years in exile, of Juan Peron. Brazil, in the grip of a repressive military dictatorship and by far the principal beneficiary of US economic aid, ignores our threats and entreaties in the seething instant-coffee dispute. Uruguay, once thought of as the Switzerland of the Americas, is in a state of virtual civil war. Paraguay remains impoverished and placid under the iron rule of General Stroessner. Bolivia's government of the moment is the product of a *coup* upon a *coup* upon a *coup;* it makes anti-American noises, but its true inwardness is yet to be revealed. Peru's military government is likewise something of an enigma, but it is certainly making domestic political capital out of defying Washington. Ecuador's president, unable to cope with economic collapse and rising violence, has suspended the constitution. Colombia, the showcase of the Alliance for Progress, has become the symbol of its failure. Oil-rich Venezuela, with the highest per capita income in Latin America, has such tenuous control over its rebellious elements that it could not risk a visit from its good friend, Nelson Rockefeller. Mexico, whose rapid industrialization has produced the only high-altitude city in the world with a serious smog problem, has made no real dent on urban unemployment or rural poverty. Among the smaller countries, the Dominican Republic continues to boil, Haiti is in the clutches of Papa Doc, black militancy has found a foothold throughout the Caribbean and in Guyana, the civil war continues in Guatemala, the Central American Common Market threatens to fall apart at any moment; and even our own Puerto Rico was recently described by a local business executive as facing a choice of "Watts or Castro." Plenty of action, but not much progress.

To what extent this mess is of our making depends in large part on what we regard as the march of history and what we regard as mess. The need for revolution in much of Latin America is now widely accepted. The Alliance for Progress, while it did not advocate the overthrow of established governments by force, called for such fundamental changes in the bases of political and economic power as could realistically be achieved only by revolutionary means. The mounting pressure of popular uprisings and radical voting behavior can be viewed as the labor pains of progress, rather than as part of the mess. What is a legitimate cause of concern is not that change, even violent change, is taking place, but that it is accompanied by accelerating alienation from the US. And for that, Washington must take a good share of blame.

The US has systematically fostered a colonial relationship with Latin America. American firms are encouraged to exploit the natural resources and ship them to the US to provide the grist for our industry. They are also encouraged to participate in what the *Wall Street Journal* described as "a new kind of *bracero* program" (May 25, 1967), under which those parts of a manufacturing operation requiring large labor inputs are transferred across the border. But let a Latin American manufacturer get successful enough to compete in the US market, and an import quota is immediately slapped on him. We are happy to accept Brazilian coffee as it comes from the tree, but we are threatening to scuttle the International Coffee Agreement unless Brazil stops sending us manufactured instant coffee. We threaten to impose quotas on textiles, typically the first exportable manufacture of a developing nation.

At the same time, the US has consistently intervened in internal affairs on the side of a repressive status quo This intervention has taken many forms, some more objectionable than others. It is to Nixon's credit that he has not resorted to that casual use of force that has characterized his policy in Southeast Asia. And yet political imprisonment, torture and murder in Brazil, Guatemala, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere are carried out by American-trained and equipped police and military forces. Brazil, where such practices have been refined to a high level, received in 1969 more US-AID police assistance than any other country in the world, except South Vietnam. What Nixon seems to be attempting is the Vietnamization of Latin America. We supply the tools; they do the dirty work.

There may be nothing that can be done at present to lessen the colonial character of our commercial policy. It is one of the inherent handicaps of the Presidency in conducting foreign relations vis-à-vis the underdeveloped world, that so much of the substance of those relations is commercial, rather than diplomatic

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nd military, and hence outside the President's [redacted]ect ontrol. Our Latin neighbors know this and would re-pect an honest failure to sway a recalcitrant Congress. Vhat they cannot respect is that the President has ıade no attempt to get the Nixon policy enacted; that, or instance, he exerts no vigorous pressure against the ,reatest backward step in trade since the Smoot-Haw-ey Tariff. It is clear to them by now that the pro-ouncements accompanying the publication of the Rockefeller report in October and November of 1969 vere intended not to state policy, but merely to mute lissension.

From 1898 to 1934, the United States actively intervened in Latin America's internal affairs. Prior to that, except as our westward expansion encroached upon Mexican territory, and after that until 1954, our normal policy was *de facto* recognition, nondiscriminatory commercial relations, and hands-off domestic politics. No one expects Mr. Nixon to extend diplomatic recognition to the Guatemalan guerrillas; but surely it is time to recognize that Castro's is, in fact, the government of Cuba. No one expects him to ship arms to the Tupemaros; but neither should he continue to arm the Brazilian political police. No one expects him to climb into bed with President Allende; but couldn't he stop trying to get into bed with Balaguer?

David F. Ross

Bizarre Decision by the Court

The Sometime 18-year-old Vote

›y Nathan Lewin

Of the nine members of the Supreme Court, only ustice Hugo Black believes that, as a matter of con-titutional law, Congress has authority to direct that 18-year-olds be given the vote in federal elections but does not have that authority as to state and local elections. The other eight Justices think that Congress' constitutional power is identical whether it be an election for Congress or for a state legislature that is at stake. But since they divided evenly – four Justices voting that Congress had no power to alter state-prescribed qualifications for any election and four who would accord it full authority – Justice Black's singular view is now the law of the land. And it is law which, unless revised by Congress, is likely to produce chaotic results in the 1972 elections.

Observers who read the December 21 opinions closely may wonder whether there were not some last-minute shifts in the lineup which affected the outcome. Since Justice Black's was, in the most literal sense, the "swing" vote, he announced the "judgment of the Court": that the voting-age section of the 1970 Voting Rights Act is constitutional (Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan, White and Marshall) for federal elections but unconstitutional (Justices Burger, Black, Harlan, Stewart and Blackmun) for local elections. Curiously enough, however, of the five opinions filed, the one which Justice Brennan wrote, and which Justices White and Marshall joined, reads strikingly as if it had originally been drafted as a majority opinion for the Court. It begins with the procedural context of the cases, uses the pronoun "we" where dissents are usually written in the first person singular, and does not respond at all to Justice Black's expressed view. This suggests that Black may have arrived at his conclusion long after the Court had taken its initial tenative vote on the case – or possibly that one or both of the Nixon appointees had initially voted with Justice Brennan.

The result of the Court's split vote is plainly surprising; it might even be called bizarre. Whether Congress would have enacted a statute to reduce the voting age to 18 for congressional and Presidential elections if the states were permitted to keep their own age standards for local elections is dubious at best. It certainly creates administrative problems in conducting elections in even-numbered years and may change the character of political contests in those years. Separate registration lists and ballots will now be needed in states where the 18-to-21-year-olds may not vote under local law, and local candidates will not be able to look to the top of the ticket, to those running for federal office, to carry them in on long coattails. Would

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Congress have wanted to lower the voting age to 18 if it had thought that it had that power only for federal elections? Nothing in the debates on the floor of the House or Senate indicates that it would. There is some irony in the fact that the Court's opinions – particularly those of Justices Harlan and Brennan – cover 55 and 28 pages, respectively, in exhaustive efforts to divine the intent of the Thirty-Ninth Congress which debated the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, but do not address themselves to the intent of the Ninety-First Congress which debated the Voting Rights Act in 1970. Lawyers know all about "severability provisions" in statutes, and the Voting Rights Act of 1970 had such a provision. Its effect is ordinarily to save a statutory clause even though some other clause "is judicially determined to be invalid." In the 1970 Act, the severability provision applies to the entire "Act," but it is located not at the end of the statute where it can usually be found in federal laws but in the portion of the Act dealing with the abolition of literacy tests and residency requirements.

Maybe Congress didn't anticipate that the 18-year-vote provision could be divided in any sensible manner. Nonetheless, the eight other Justices all accepted at face value Justice Black's reading of the severability clause and his conclusion that the Court would "fail to follow the express will of Congress in interpreting its own statute if we refuse to sever these two distinct aspects" of the 18-year-vote rule.

Justice Black to the contrary notwithstanding, a reading of the words of the Constitution (which should have appealed to a literalist) seem to make it plain that the Founding Fathers would not have approved of different qualifications for federal and state elections. In speaking of the qualifications of voters for Congress ("Electors" in constitutional language), Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution directs that they "shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature," thereby implying that the Congress could neither add to nor detract from the "qualifications" set by states for voting in local legislative elections. Indeed, the constitutional theory of the congressmen who supported the 18-year-old vote and of the Supreme Court Justices who voted to uphold it was not, as Justice Brennan was careful to point out, that Congress could "make general rules for the determination of voter qualifications." Rather, their theory was that Congress could conclude that states which denied the vote to citizens between the ages of 18 and 21 were acting arbitrarily and, therefore, violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In other words, while Congress could not itself prescribe the "qualifications," it was constitutionally authorized to conclude that the age line could not be drawn at 21. It was on this same constitutional theory that the Court had, five years ago, sus[illegible]ed the provision of the 1965 Voting Rights Ac which, in effect, extended the right to vote to Spanish speaking Americans educated in Puerto Rican schools In that case, Congress' finding was that it was a denia of "equal protection of the laws" to require literacy i English for native-born American citizens educated i American-flag schools.

Justice Black's unique position rests on the clause o the Constitution which empowers Congress to "mak or alter . . . regulations" relating to the "times, place and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives." No one else on the Court reads thi provision as authorizing Congress to prescribe vote qualifications. Nor does it appear that anyone in th Congress saw in that clause a possible basis for th 18-year vote, since the introductory "Declaration an Findings" in the statute – which usually enumerat every conceivable constitutional basis for a federa statute to forestall constitutional challenge – fail t mention that Congress was purporting to exercise thi power. As long ago as the 1883 *Civil Rights Cases*, th Supreme Court held that it would not uphold the con stitutionality of a federal statute – even if that were th only way it could be sustained in part – on the basis o a power not mentioned or relied upon by Congress The other eight Justices on the Court did not, however, consider this question and apparently acquiesced i Justice Black's "severability" proposition.

Where do we go from here? Senator Kennedy has promptly put in a proposed constitutional amendmen which would give 18-year-olds the vote in state elec tions. The administrative inconvenience of applying the Court's dual standard is ample reason for the states now to get behind that amendment. Indeed, it may draw support from third-party groups, which often rely for voter support on a single well-known candidate (such as Senator-elect Buckley of New York) and which would not want to put the remainder of their ticket to the test of separate voter choice in a bifurcated election. In fact, it may even get national Republican support since local candidates will probably want the benefit of the President's coattails in 1972. And local election officials – who now will have the choice of conducting separate federal and state elections or maintaining a single unified ballot for the 21-and-over group while preparing a separate federal ballot for the 18-to-21 set – have it in their power to decide whether the federal and state candidates will continue to appear together on the 1972 ballot. Unless, of course, Congress – acting under its Article I, Section 4 power to "make or alter . . . regulations" relating to the "times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives" – enacts a law *requiring* a single ballot for federal and state elections. Even those who disagree with Justice Black would probably recognize such a statute as legitimately directed to "time, place and manner."

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Who Says Thailand's Next?

›y Wayne A. O'Neil

.ouis Lomax wrote a book entitled *Thailand: The War that Is, the War that Will Be;* Daniel Wit, one :alled *Thailand: Another Vietnam?* And *Atlas* maga-·ine asked on its cover "Is Thailand Next?" It may ›e, but why? And next for what? In the 19th century ›efore Thailand became a satellite of the British Empire, or in the late 1930s before Thailand was more than less willingly occupied by the Japanese, we could also have asked the question, "Is Thailand next?" and have referred to the external threat posed by England and France in Southeast Asia and later by Japan. Today, keeping alive the fiction that "stable" countries can only be toppled from without, the questioners assume that the threat to Thailand is external: the threat of Peking and international communism, or at least Peking-led Asian communism.

The facts to support the notion that China is directly or in any serious way indirectly supporting or developing a revolution in Thailand are few. By our own State Department account the mainland Chinese threat to Thailand consists of:

► "Chinese *intentions* to upgrade Route 46 from Muong Sai to Pak Beng in Laos. This would provide an approach from Communist China and North Vietnam toward north Thailand increasing the Communist attack capability."

► "Communist Chinese propaganda [and public speeches specifying] that 'After Vietnam, Thailand is Next.'"

► China's supposed developing and supporting and encouraging "an insurgency in Thailand by a number of [unspecified] means, including training and other [unspecified] things." The magnitude of this supposed overt act on China's part, i.e. its training of insurgents, is clear from the following exchange during hearings in November 1969 before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

Senator Fulbright: How many insurgents are there in Thailand that [the Chinese] have trained? . . .

Ambassador Unger [US Ambassador to Thailand, Leonard Unger]: It would be less than 100 in China.

So the Chinese threat consists of saying some threatening things over Radio Peking, intending to work on a road in Laos (which work was probably begun at the request of Prince Souvanna Phouma and his rightist general Phoumi), and training a hundred insurgents to operate in a country with a population of 33 million.

Nor does North Vietnam appear any greater an external foe to Thailand than China does. Let us continue the dialogue between Senator Fulbright and Ambassador Unger, adding, along the way, Dr. George K. Tanham, the Ambassador's special assistant for counterinsurgency:

Senator Fulbright: Less than a hundred. Now from North Vietnam, how many insurgents are in Thailand who come from North Vietnam?

Ambassador Unger: The figure that I remember offhand would be over 300.

Senator Fulbright: And how large are the armed forces of Thailand?

Ambassador Unger [reconsidering his answer to the previous question]: Perhaps more than I have mentioned. Perhaps—

Senator Fulbright: Well, how many?

Dr. Tanham: 400 or 500.

Senator Fulbright: And a hundred from China. Is it fair to say that there are less than a thousand of both? Trained and coming from North Vietnam and China into Thailand? What figures? Take any you like. I am not trying to put words in your mouth.

Ambassador Unger: Yes; I think as stated that way is correct.

On the basis of these facts it is difficult to work up much belief in a powerful external communist threat to Thailand. Nor could Fulbright:

Senator Fulbright: So we are supposed to believe this is such a threat that it warrants our activities in Thailand partially, a threat to their independence.

Ambassador Unger: May I comment on that?

Senator Fulbright: Yes; I would like you to.

Ambassador Unger: The people that we are talking about are the nucleus of an insurgency. These are the people who are well trained, the people who organize and recruit, and put together an insurgency that is also made up of Thais themselves.

Senator Fulbright: Well, how many have they put together?

Ambassador Unger: Our estimates currently number about 1300 in the northeast part of Thailand and

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about – I guess a slightly larger number today in the north.

Dr. Tanham: 1300 to 1600 in the north, 1400 to 1500 in the northeast, hard-core armed guerrillas, not supporters.

Now regardless of whether we understand the maximum number (3100) of "hard-core armed guerrillas" to include or exclude "the number of insurgents who were communist-trained outside Thailand" (a figure worked up to 2300 plus by a State Department estimate made subsequent to Unger's and Tanham's testimony: 700-plus from China; 600 from North Vietnam, and 1000 from Laos – "a cumulative total over the period since 1952") and of how many of the outside insurgents we imagine to be currently active in Thai insurgent ranks, it is impossible to pass our figures on Thai insurgency off as anything but a dismal failure on the part of outside forces.

One can make a much better case for Thailand's constituting an external threat to all sides in the countries of Indochina. For it is clear that Thailand has 12,000 of its 170,000-man army fighting in South Vietnam against the NLF; it has given the United States sanctuaries from which it carries out, or has carried out, its relentless and destructive bombing of Laos, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and, now, Cambodia; it is giving a crash training program to Cambodian recruits; it is supplying arms and other military supplies and talking about sending if not already sending Thai-Khmers to Cambodia; its planes have been flying support missions in Cambodia; all of this in support of the Lon Nol government. Moreover, Thailand supports Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos with rice and other food supplies, with building materials and probably with air support and troops:

Senator Fulbright [reading from the Hong Kong press]: "In addition, Thailand has sent an estimated 5000 troops disguised in the uniform of the Royal Laotian Army." Will you answer first whether or not the Thais have sent 5000 troops into Laos or any number from five up to 5000?

Ambassador Unger: [deleted]

Senator Fulbright: Have they sent any troops?

Ambassador Unger: [deleted]

On the other hand, it is also true that money and food move from the Vietnamese resident in Thailand to the *North* Vietnamese; that the rightist Prince Boun Oum na Champassak of Pakse (Laos) deals in Thai rice, selling it to the *North* Vietnamese Army; and that the Thais would not weep or mourn over the collapse of the Lon Nol government since they have some long-standing claims on Cambodian territory (claims that were respected by the Japanese during the Second World War).

The case that Hanoi, Saigon, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Prince Sihanouk, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Lon Nol, the Khmer Rouge, and the Pathet Lao could make against Thailand would at least have some major substance and be free of the vagaries that characterize our attempts to document the external communist threat.

Yet Thailand, if we mean by that its rulers, political and commercial, is threatened. Dissatisfaction with the way of life of the average Thai (90 percent of the population) gets worse – dissatisfaction with the corruption of government and of the civil service, with the Thai government's inability and unwillingness to face and solve the problems of its corruption, of the deterioration of Bangkok, of the stagnated economy, of the educational system, of agriculture. To be sure these problems are not unrelated to an external force: multinational corporate capitalism, which finds in Thailand a market for its manufactured goods and a source of some useful raw materials, tin and rubber (90 percent bought up by the United States), and foodstuffs, primarily rice. Then, too, there is the presence of 42,000 American servicemen in Thailand, of 52,000 American GIs on Rest and Recuperation leave from Vietnam passing through Bangkok each year, of countless numbers of other Americans on other kinds of R&R (big foundation-supported, AID-supported, USIS-supported, ARPA-supported, etc.). They constitute not only a threat to Thailand's sound economic development but to traditional Thai culture.

The Thai government, of course, plays up every incident in the countryside, incidents that range from sheer banditry to clearly political slayings, as communist-inspired, led, and supported. But the government's label covers every facet of internal dissatisfaction, and it is also the label that attracts dollars.

Significantly, when Thais get together to talk about their country's problems they turn immediately to other matters than China and North Vietnam. For example, on August 11, 1970 in a panel discussion held at Chulalongkorn University before an audience of Thai teachers and students, the four panelists presented these rather different views of the greatest problems that Thailand now faces. Dr. Adul, Dean of the Liberal Arts Faculty of Thammasart University, said he worried most about revolution, or to quote a milder paraphrase of his words: "the attitude that any regime that stays in power for long is necessarily bad and should be replaced by a new *system*" (emphasis added). M. R. Seni Pramoj, leader of the opposition (six of one, half a dozen of the other) party in Thailand, was most distressed by the billion-dollar national debt, while Professor Temsiri of Prasanmitr College of Education was bothered by promiscuous consumerism: "that nowadays one can buy almost anything on credit and the opportunity to do so encourages many people to buy imported luxury items so that they get bogged down with

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istallment payments." Finally Mr. Sulakse, editor of he *Social Science Review* – a left-leaning Thai pe-iodical – said that he feared most the government's iducing a paranoid fear of communism in order to istract the people from the real issues of corruption, overty, and economic deterioration.

Let us go through it again, bringing out its relationhips to US involvement and interest in Thailand.

First of all Professor Temsiri's worrying consumerism is not quite accurately stated. For the "almost nything" that the Thais can buy on credit is limited o "imported luxury items." A Thai can buy a V set (colored or black and white), a refrigerator, n automobile, etc., but he cannot in Bangkok buy lean air, minimal sanitation facilities, a place to live, ood health care, etc. on credit or in any other way. Ie cannot easily travel to and from work, but can hoose from among any one of a dozen or so palatial novie theaters in which to soak up a Chinese (Hong Kong) sword movie and air-conditioning. In the countryside it is worse: there too he can buy a TV set (if he has electricity). But because easy farm credit is *not* available to him from the government that harasses him to produce more rice (its chief export commodity), he can become heavily indebted to the Chinese usurers, lose his land, be forced into moving to Bangkok, and there end up in one of the squatters' slums that threaten in the next few years to become ome for 25 percent of Bangkok's four million people. I iving in an illegal, unregistered plywood and corrugated metal shack, he will have his children denied public education (but perhaps that's not too bad – more of that later). For children must come from a registered tax-paying residence in order to qualify for enrollment in the public schools. He will end up laying bricks for the construction of a new luxury hotel or shopping center or high-rise complex. But then there is always Mekong raw rice whiskey; it's still cheap.

Such choices are not a result of an accident in Thailand's postwar economic development. Thailand manufactures no automobiles, TV sets, or other luxury items. These pour in from the industrial world, chiefly from Japan and the United States. And American and Japanese business is by far the major source of foreign investment in Thailand. We and the Japanese both sell twice as much to Thailand as we buy. And because of this imbalance the Thais are cool to Japan. Not to us, for we also export other things to Thailand that do not figure into the foreign trade figure.

Though the per capita income of Thailand is about $125 per year, some few Thais are consuming hundreds and thousands of per capita incomes a year. Marshal Dawee manages to pick up $5-10 thousand on his part-time job directing the Express Transport Organization. And Prime Minister Sarit died in 1963, leaving behind an embarrassing amount of money – enough to maintain one-and-a-half million average Thais for a year.

Then there is Mr. Seni Pramoj's not unrelated concern over the national debt – due to grow by 20 percent for FY 1969-70, an increase roughly equivalent to 20 percent of the national budget for FY 1970-71. Thailand has precious little to export: rice, lots of it, some rubber and tin. But with the advent of miracle or Philippine rice, the bottom has fallen out of the world rice market, and the Japanese show good economic sense in not moving in (as we would like them to) to support it artificially. This could be disastrous for the Thai economy, for the government's foreign exchange comes from the rice exports and a good deal of its internal income derives from the rice export tax (which falls back on the farmer in the form of the lower prices paid by the middlemen for his crop). Meanwhile, what to do about all those luxuries pouring in and the foreign investments to be protected?

Total economic collapse in Thailand is prevented only by the very large US government investment. Here is where the communist threat has proven useful to Thailand and to us. Conservatively figured, we are pouring money into the Thai economy at the rate of $200 million a year. Again, using the most conservative figures, total US economic aid to Thailand over the last 20 years stands at $2 billion, much of it over the last six years, or since we and the Thais convinced each other of the communist threat and we developed

"It's become almost indigenous."

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a need for airbases closer to target. The many forms of American aid and their amounts fall out this way:

► Since 1966 we have paid the Thais $50 million a year to maintain and support a division of the Thai army in Vietnam, the former Black Panther Division, now called the Black Leopards. Also in order to alleviate Thai fears over sending its crack division to Vietnam, we have increased by $30 million a year our military training aid to Thailand, all this to have a willing ally, side by side in Vietnam;

► Since Thailand is the sanctuary from which we bomb Laos, Vietnam, and now Cambodia, and since there was precious little there to use before we got this quid pro quo, we had to invest one-third of a billion dollars from 1967-1969 in upgrading and constructing bases and a road system for supplying them;

► The 52,000 American GIs on R&R from Vietnam spend about $25 million a year on the Bangkok economy and support (created?) along the way Tommy Tours Agency, a Bangkok tourist service that makes all R&R arrangements for the visiting GIs. This agency is managed by Tommy Clift, formerly Chief of Staff of the Burmese Air Force, and by the wife of the Royal Thai Air Force Vice Marshal Srisakdi;

► An undetermined amount of money and number of jobs flow into the Thai economy because of the fact that 42,000 American servicemen are stationed there (considerably more than the 300 authorized beginning in 1960 but down from the 48,000 peak of 1969, a figure which is to be cut to 32,000 by July 1, 1971, mostly by trimming the fat). Seventy-five percent of these men are Air Force personnel, but there are elements of the Army there (Green Berets), the Navy, the Marines, and even the Coast Guard, which, secreted away in the mountains, far from the sea, operate the Loran-C air navigation system for the easier destruction of Southeast Asia. American GIs encourage the development of the obvious *machismo* industries in Thailand; the American military presence also pulls Thai teachers, agricultural workers, engineers, etc. off important domestic jobs into relatively high-paying US military work;

► The Agency for International Development spends about $35 million a year in Thailand, about 80 percent going into counterinsurgency work, i.e. training police to deal with the population;

► The Advanced Research Projects Agency, a Pentagon agency, does counterinsurgency research, village attitude surveys, handbooks on minority ethnic tribes in Thailand – on the Meo, e.g., who are the principal insurgents in the north – mostly under the guise of innocent anthropological and sociological research. It's not clear how much money is spent here, but it is clear what is involved: defoliation, infrared gadgetry, counterinsurgency games, snooping.

► The United States Information Service, training Thais in working up anticommunist propaganda and radio and information and holding down the jo while they learn, produces a few jobs which are mostl counterinsurgent in intent;

► Finally there is a million-dollar-a-year Peace Corp investment, most of which goes toward a few high paying jobs for American bureaucrats and to suppor 250 underpaid volunteers in their efforts to put on pretty face for America as they go about innocentl teaching English to Thai elites, thereby making th educational system an even better instrument fo sharpening social class distinctions.

So the money goes. But what does it serve? Th answer is: The ruling class and its desires to contro the population gently, through propaganda if pos sible, but with guns if necessary.

It is insufficient to say, however, that the Thai elit simply wants to keep things quiet with TV, commu nists, propaganda, and if necessary, guns while i pursues a direction in economic development tha bears little relationship to the needs of the Thai peo ple, or to argue that the Thai elite is gullibly playin just and only the game that the United States want it to play. Sure, Thailand will be a market for Japar and the other industrial powers. And it will easily le America have for its bases a commodity that it can easily afford: the red, arid land of the northeast, bases that also provide jobs and money for that par of the country that has always been neglected by Bangkok and in which there is real poverty. Jobs and money and lots of heavy security offer a measure o social control.

But there is more than this to be gained from the way the United States has thrown its money about in its haste to get bombing. Construction feeds corruption. And corruption feeds certain Thais. Corruption is not of course limited to construction. I have already suggested, for example, that Tommy Tours Agency is a creature of corruption, an enterprise which generates at least $150,000 per month. The Thai government's Express Transport Organization hauls our goods and cargo at a 35-40 percent profit when it works for the United States, but less than a five percent profit in its non-US work. The chairman of the Board of Directors of ETO, Marshal Dawee, realizes from $6 to $12 thousand a year from this extracurricular activity.

This is what leaks out from the Senate Hearings and from talking to Thais and others in that country. About corruption in the Thai base construction there is nothing but ominous silence, for this is a matter that the Senate investigated but that the State Department refused to declassify. But corruption around construction is widely recognized and understood by the Thais themselves.

It is certainly true that construction in the northeast of Thailand has provided "direct employment to a large number of Thais," as stated in the hearings,

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nd provided "a market for locally procurable commodities such as sand and gravel and . . . some wood nd things of a rather simple nature." But it has also ed enormous sums of money into the hands of government officials and of businessmen and others in he civil service, and served to further widen the economic gap between the elite and the average Thai.

The Thai government's anticommunist sword is hus double-edged, a wonderfully serviceable instrument. The government's irresponsibility makes it the mmediate target of the people's ire. The external hreat of American and Japanese capitalism and the overnment's willingness to play the industrial vorld's tune for its own ends further increase popular lissatisfaction. No communist spectre is needed to xplain these quite natural responses.

What is surprising then is the limited popular opposition to the government and the generally unorganized haracter of that opposition. Thai students, happy to e let into the elitist club, are generally quiet (though his past September 2000 militant students did occupy he grounds of Parliament, demanding an inquiry into lleged university corruption). The American bases, lthough the target of petty theft, have not been eriously threatened by an organized popular force, urther evidence that a popular resistance movement n Thailand insofar as one exists is quite weak.

The reasons for this are not hard to find. Thailand s a well-managed society: its people are (with obvious xceptions) part of an ethnically, linguistically, and eligiously coherent whole; they pay willing allegiance o a Buddhist King; they believe in the rightness of wealth going with high status. It is not strange then hat the first people to question the government's esponsibility should be those Thais who are not Buddhists and/or Thai-speaking. And it is not surprising that Thai-speaking Buddhists whose condition is little better than that of the Hill Tribes or of the Malay-Thai muslims would not follow the lead of these ethnic minorities. The government can thus easily contain insurgency by importing the Green Berets and ARPA, by destroying the life of the Hill Tribes, by launching a few headstart-type programs among the minority groups, etc. And this may be sufficient for the moment.

But all of this could change rapidly. The population is growing at an official rate of 3.5-4 percent annually. (I was told by an American doctor in Thailand that the growth rate was probably closer to 5 percent per year); the traditional landed-peasant class of Thailand is losing its land; poverty and urban squalor are becoming problems in the squatters' slums of Bangkok into which the now landless peasants are driven or attracted; and government control over the north, in those areas in which there is rural poverty and in which there are no US bases is diminishing. At the beginning of last summer two Thai employees of USIS were killed in Nan province (an obvious warning to Thais who would cooperate with the American counterinsurgency programs). At the end of the summer the governor and the police chief of Chiengrai province together with the information officer of the Royal Thai Army Third Division were ambushed and killed (an obvious warning to Bangkok to stay out). The government's control of these two northernmost provinces, Chiengrai and Nan, is tenuous at best.

In what directions can Thailand move? It can choose to do nothing and thus remain the most willing of Asia's American allies, continuing to feed off the American willingness to put money into Southeast Asia, especially into superficially stable Thailand. However, to keep on this way Thailand must keep viable for US consumption the notion that it is threatened from without and therefore in need of massive US economic support; it must replace the economic loss that will result from our pulling out 15,000 servicemen and from the inevitable decline in the R&R money that flows into Bangkok; and it must attract American industry, now limited, according to testimony before Senator Fulbright, to "a lot of branches of large American corporations like three of the oil companies. Firestone has established a factory, tire-producing factory. Goodyear is about to do so. Union Carbide is there in a tin smelter. There are smaller enterprises like, say, American battery manufacturing firms." And this depends on the outcome of the oil explorations now being carried on by six companies, five of them American, in the Gulf of Thailand.

Or, Thailand can reverse its position in Asia by throwing out the Americans, assuming a neutralist or even pro-Peking position in its foreign relations. This would cause severe economic strain, given the magnitude of America's support of the economy. But the suffering could be mostly borne by the Thai elite, who have already salted away enough to keep satisfied for a long time. Evidence that this decision is not impossible is provided by the recent suggestion by government members of the Thai Parliament that former Prime Minister Pridi Phanomyong be brought back to Thailand as an elder statesman. Pridi has been in exile in Peking since 1954. He is now reported to be in Paris. There can be but two reasons for inviting him back to Thailand: to call the American/Nixon doctrine bluff with its own threat; or to knit up its relations with China in preparation for getting out from under America.

A third path that Thailand could follow would be to pursue not only a neutral course in Asia but also a revolution within. I doubt if it could. There is no money in playing one's responsibilities straight. And the ruling oligarchy and its merchant friends are not about to give up the piece of action that they have cultivated over the postwar years.

Next is still far in the future.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Ring Out the New!

Here are some pictures with which to start the New Year wrong.

Love Story (Paramount). Erich Segal's bestseller is now available in convenient, celluloid-wrapped size at your neighborhood movie supermarket. As all the peoples of the earth know by now, it's a triangle story: a girl, a boy, a leukemia; and the producers have matched the pulpy prose with the production, including the music.

Not since a Columbia professor named John Erskine wrote a string of pop-hit novels in the '20s has a university teacher (Yale, this time) had such a fictional smash. At such a level. *Love Story* demonstrates that no dead theme is really dead if you can tart it up with a little light modernity. A lot of us would have bet that the rich-boy-poor-girl (or vice versa) story had vanished with Joan Crawford's waistline, but we were wrong. It just needed an author with gall enough to dig it up, season it plentifully with profanity (nitty) and cancer (gritty), and to insure the tears by telling us in advance that this gay creature is already dead before her story begins.

Ali McGraw is the girl and proves again that, without talent, a pretty girl is like a malady. I've seen McGraw on a TV talk show, where she was peppy and appealing. When acting, her smile is like a Delgado electric reflex, her actions and reactions are patently planned, the sound of her profanity is self-conscious and grating. Ryan O'Neal is the boy, or is he? He's one of the new breed of young film heroes whose faces can't be remembered even when you're looking right at them. Was he the one in *The Baby Maker*? And *The Landlord*? They all blur together. The boy's stuffy father is Ray Milland who, with jowls and without hair-piece, looks like a walking oyster.

I Love My Wife (Universal). Elliott Gould *does* have a face you can remember, and that may be one reason for his swift success. But he has picked a lemon in this script by Robert Kaufman, who wrote Gould's *Getting Straight*. Kaufman thinks that accumulation of data equals penetration and that finicky surface verisimilitude equals honesty.

The story is about a West Coast doctor, his upbringing, his marriage, his sexual wanderings. The theme is that contemporary conditioning – familial and social – can make love difficult and fidelity virtually impossible even for a man who would probably like both. I think Kaufman merely played with the idea, but I may be prejudiced: eighteen years ago I published a novel on this theme, more or less, and I prefer Kauffmann to Kaufman.

Mel Stuart directed with TV triteness. There are, for instance, a lot of shots of cars rolling into driveways and people walking up to front doors, as in *Marcus Welby, MD*. (Motor Driveway?) Gould coasts on surfaces most of the time. Those surfaces are pretty good, but he's going to wear them smooth if he coasts on them so much. Brenda Vaccaro, his wife, is an acquired taste, I guess, which I haven't yet acquired. A blonde dummy, named Angel Tompkins, plays a TV-commercial blonde dummy.

Notes for the Time Capsule: This is the first film where we see a young adolescent interrupted during bathroom masturbation, and where we see a woman go to a bathroom cabinet for her diaphragm and jelly.

Gimme Shelter (Cinema V). Still another documentary about a rock concert. This one, by David Maysles, Albert Maysles, and Charlotte Zwerin, deals with the Rolling Stones' free performance at Altamont, California, in 1969, during which a Hell's Angels bodyguard killed one of the crowd. The high point, inevitably, is the killing, which was photographed fuzzily and is repeated in slow motion. The preparations for the concert, the backstage stuff, the fact that the principal device throughout is the showing of the film itself on a moviola to Mick Jagger, the star – none of this gives the picture any distinctive texture or being. Your interest in it will depend on how much you want to watch the Stones and how long you're willing to wait for a badly photographed death.

Well, there's one more interesting aspect – the flavor of the film, the difference from early Beatles days a mere decade ago. The Maysles themselves made a documentary about the Beatles' first visit to America, *What's Happening?* – full of their high spirits and their own enjoyment of the Beatles phenomenon. But the Beatles' latest documentary, *Let It Be*, probably their last film together, had toughness and goodby written all over it. *Gimme Shelter* is a film about rock performers who themselves are as hard as rock. The Beatles' crowds, in those distant early '60s, were as avid as those for the Stones, but can you imagine the early Beatles hiring Hell's Angels as a security force?

Brewster McCloud (MGM). *M*A*S*H* was funny; Robert Altman's second comedy is not. The main difference, I think, is that the first was written by Ring Lardner, Jr., the second wasn't. Also, the cast of *Brewster McCloud* is generally inferior to Altman's earlier film – or to most films, for that matter. A fairly promising comedy-fantasy idea is bumbled because the script lacks theme and clarity and point and the cast lacks the ability to battle poor material (as Gould can do). This prank joins the list of possibles that turned out to be wide misses, like *John Goldfarb, Please Come Home* (1965) and *The President's Analyst* (1967).

The story seems to be about a young fellow (McCloud) who lives secretly in the Houston Astrodome where he is working on a pair of wings, so that he can fulfill man's ancient and still frustrated ambition to fly. Not *in* something; by himself. McCloud is sponsored by a guardian angel, female, who is temporarily grounded. She guards him by killing several people who impede him, all of them unredeemed rotters, and she does it mysteriously, with winged messengers. The Houston cops are baffled, so a San Francisco hot-shot detective, parodying *Bullitt*, is brought in to help them out. One index of the script's comic invention is the four-car chase, also parodying *Bullitt*, which ends not an hour too soon.

All the dialogue sounds like first-draft before they called in the expensive writer to funny it up. Most of the performances are shockingly amateur. (An exception is René Auberjonois as an ornithologist whose discourse meanders through the film. Like the sexologist in Makavajev's *Love Affair*, but less subtle.) The film tries for off-beat freedom but forgets to make clear what it is off-beating for and toward.

Another Note for the Time Capsule: This is the first film where we see a

(Continued on Page 43)

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A Manifesto and A War-Crime Bibliography

An American Manifesto
by Richard J. Barnet and Marcus G. Raskin

New American Library; $1.00)

he basic thesis of the eloquent new anifesto by Richard J. Barnet and larcus G. Raskin is that it is the merican people themselves who have een pacified by the war. Survival deends upon depacification:

When future historians and archaeolosts sift the wreckage of our civilizaon, they will be impressed by the well-ocumented warnings we treat as ritual. Jo society ever faced disaster with ore facts. Every catastrophic step in e nuclear arms race has been preicted and publicized. Every impending risis has its own team of Cassandras. Ve have experts who tell us that the utomobile will make the city uninabitable and will eventually kill the rban population. We have other exerts who tell us that we cannot poison he rivers and oceans indefinitely without risking the oxygen supply needed o support life. Still other experts have uietly pointed out that the US with percent of the world's population annot continue to devour 60 percent of he world's consumable resources without literally drowning in its own waste while the rest of mankind starves. These well-informed and highly marketable voices of doom have strangely ittle effect on what the nation does."

The ways for turning the country round are many, but we will doubtless eed all of them in concert to be effective. And before we can begin we have o be aware as a nation of the extraordinary consequences of what Barnet nd Raskin call a "generation of pacifiation":

"Pacified Americans believe that they will have peace by pursuing war, but hey are uniting the world against them.

"Pacified Americans believe that they an hold onto their riches only if they intimidate the rest of mankind, but they will exhaust themselves in the process.

"Pacified Americans believe that they an exploit the material resources of the earth to satisfy their every whim, but their children will pay for the destruction of the earth.

"Pacified Americans believe they must threaten rival powers like Russia and China in order to contain them, but they create the very threats they fear.

"Pacified Americans believe that the poor and the weak, in their own country and across the world, will stay docile if given the right combination of carrots and sticks, but they have forgotten the power in the idea of freedom.

"Pacified Americans believe that they have a holy writ to destroy communists wherever they are found to protect their bourgeois culture from the threat of revolution, but the policy of permanent war itself invites rebellion and has brought guerrilla war to America.

"Pacified Americans believe that it is their turn to be a world empire, but they do not understand that the age of empires is over.

"Pacified Americans believe that we can be an island of prosperity in a world of misery, but there can be no peace based on the exploitation of two thirds of mankind.

"Pacified Americans believe that the world must be made safe for America, but for the sake of survival itself America must be made safe for the world."

Fortunately, not all Americans have been pacified, as the following booklist, on just one of the subjects covered in *An American Manifesto*, indicates.

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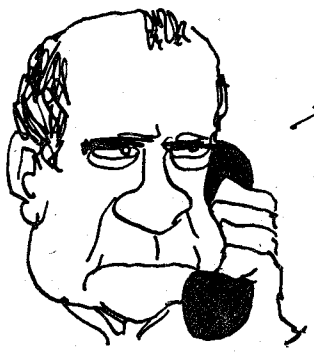

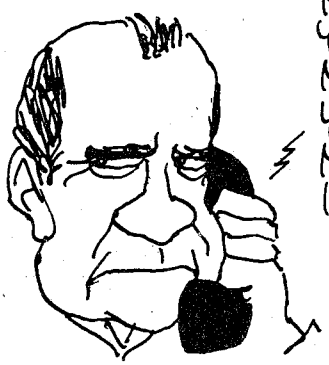

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The Politics of Fear

Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate

Robert Griffith

WINNER OF THE 1970 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER AWARD SPONSORED BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

During the McCarthy years—1950-1954—the politics of the possible were also the politics of fear. Many of the most important questions raised by that era of turmoil and controversy remain unanswered. How did McCarthy come to power? What was the source and nature of the influence he wielded over the nation's most powerful legislative assembly? Why did the members of that body acquiesce, for nearly five years, in his continued abuse of the democratic process? Were the McCarthy years aberrational, representing some monstrous malfunction in our political machinery, or were they the natural and inevitable byproduct of that system itself?

The Politics of Fear suggests that McCarthy made himself a personal symbol of the issues of American policy toward Communist nations and the more specific issue of "communism in government." His triumph was the consequence of Republican partisanship and, after 1950, of Democratic acquiescence. Manipulating the cumbersome, decentralized, and individualistic nature of the Senate, McCarthy's bold, audacious forays served many Republicans, frightened many Democrats.

The book indicates that the Senate did not serve the country well during that period. Trapped by issues of its own creation and procedures of its own contrivance, it circumspectly avoided the very issues which were central to the entire McCarthy controversy even when it had been forced against its will to confront the man who had finally become an embarrassment to his own party.

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Helen Fuller: An Editor Reminisces

Five Million Words Later
by Bruce Bliven

(John Day; $9.95)

This is not autobiography. It is recollections in maturity – a report on who and what the author saw on his way to his 81st birthday. Bruce Bliven leaves himself out of his story except when necessary for the proper telling of it. This choice, one feels, is not from exceptional modesty but from long training to focus on persons, places and things in the center of the stage rather than on the supporting players.

And for most of his life as a journalist Bliven chose the supporting role. For 40 years as a reporter and editor – as cub reporter under the crusading Fremont Older on the San Francisco *Bulletin*, managing editor of the New York *World*, American correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, and finally editor and editor-in-chief of *The New Republic* for 30 years – Bruce Bliven stood steadfastly behind his senior editors, his publishers, dozens of Good Causes, and always in support of colleagues striving for technical excellence in the publishing trade.

His lasting position in journalism is probably as the back-up man supreme – ready and able to jump into any weak spot in an emergency, remarkably free from pride of place in organizations of which he was a part. The shy child described in the chapter on his Iowa "Prairie Boyhood" took on polish after years of knowing the famous, the rich and powerful, but he remained self-effacing and non-assertive among his peers. And his bible-reading, Methodist upbringing left him permanently puritan:

> At the turn of the century we still lived in an orderly, disciplined and authoritarian world. God was an old gentleman with a long beard, up in the sky, who watched every detail of the life of every one of us.

City sophistication and an enthusiastic interest in science moderated Bliven's fundamentalism, but the old-time religion plus his father's Populist preachings kept steady in him the concern fo mankind that grew out of the simpl doctrine of "do unto others . . ." o which he was raised.

Also his childhood in Methodist Sun day School made a lasting imprint "When I was very young," he tells us "our teacher repeatedly showed us large, vertical, colored poster calle something like 'The Drunkard's Down fall', a series of pictures zigaggin across the sheet. At the top left, th protagonist, not yet an alcoholic, wa a handsome young man, living in nice house, with a pretty, well-dresse wife and two cute children.

"In the second scene, a little down th sheet and to the right, he is persuade against his better judgment to tak one drink at a party. In successive zig zag scenes he becomes a compulsiv imbiber and loses his job, home an family. In the last scene the wretch lies in the gutter, clutching an empty bottle. . . .

"We all abhor," Bliven concludes, "th amateur Freudian who generalizes from insufficient data, but it interests m that all my life I have never been able to take more than one drink without getting slightly nauseated. . . . Thi defect of mine has been a serious hand icap to my career as a journalist." And it was. Not socializing as "one of the boys" limited communications with colleagues to a point where misunderstanding once verged on a *New Republic* strike.

The "Prairie Boyhood" was marked by a family fall from prosperity to poverty in the panic of 1893. That bred a caution and sense of insecurity that colored Bliven's decisions for forty years. When *The New Republic*'s financial backers in 1946 determined to make a try at much larger circulation and radical overhaul of style and make-up, it was a traumatic experience for him. He rallied, however, and played a gallant back-up even while he prophe-

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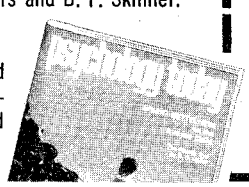

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sied privately the flop the experiment became.

The lack of self-confidence in his ability to make lone decisions led Bliven to propose an editorship-by-committee when *The New Republic* owners asked him to succeed as editor-in-chief following the death of Herbert Croly. "I was frightened," Bliven confesses. It took Felix Frankfurter to convince him that government-by-committee "would either be a nuisance . . . or deadwood."

He was a compulsive worker. From teenage on he rarely held fewer than three jobs at a time, sometimes more. He customarily worked a seven-day week, nights and Sundays, wrote reams of *NR* copy as well as editing and reading manuscripts, at the same time turning out free-lance and special correspondence for other publications. Nor was it enough to produce pages; they had to be letter perfect. These work habits have stayed with him in semi-retirement. He is still proud of how many thousand words he can turn out in a few hours; he likens himself today to "the superannuated milk-wagon horse" who "left to his own devices would faithfully follow the familiar route, stopping at every house."

"Even now," he adds, "I carefully correct typographical errors in printed matter before I put it into the waste-paper basket. I go to speeches, make full notes, and then throw them away."

The clues to Bliven the man I have set down from what I read between the lines of his book and from personal knowledge gathered when as a young Washington reporter for *The New Republic* I worked under his editorship. The text is more directly concerned, however, with the harsh battles of the '30s and '40s that dominated liberal thinking – popular front Communist intrigues in this country, the Great Depression, crystallization of the New Deal, the America-First vs. Aid-to-the-Allies split in liberal ranks, and the dark days of McCarthyism. He relives all this in sharp detail, and then, with typical Bliven change-of-pace, writes entertainingly of the temptation to every successful newspaperman to become a Name-Dropper, listing some of the Names he could drop if he were of a mind to. He counter-points further with the true tale of what it is like to be a professional lecturer on the creamed-chicken-mashed-potato circuit.

From the perspective of his ninth decade, Bruce Bliven philosophizes, "I realize now that for many years I suffered from two maladies that are rarely identified. The first of these I call 'Buyer's Disease.' When you are in a position to buy something other people want to sell – in my case manuscripts or chances at a job – you are treated with a deference beyond your deserts. When you leave your editorial chair – or as a buyer of anything, anywhere – and people no longer have any material reason to cater to you, it can be a traumatic experience."

The other malady Bliven has identified as the Editorial Writer's Disease: "Th victim comes to feel that once he h stated a problem clearly, and told ho it should be solved – which is usual easy when you don't have the respo sibility for actually carrying out th amelioration – things are somehow be ter."

Five Million Words Later leaves o with the conviction that Bruce Bliver lifelong bout with "Editorial Writer Disease" has somehow made thin better.

Howard N. Meyer: A Great Statesman Subverted

Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man by David Donald

(Knopf; $15)

"Peerless" was the word chosen by Frederick Douglass for Charles Sumner, his "honored and revered friend who spoke in the Senate as no man had ever spoken there before" for freedom and justice. One can hardly imagine a figure in our nation's past whose life and work are more suitable for explaining to the disaffected young the "relevance" of history. A founding father of the Republican Party, he symbolizes the proud radical-liberal tradition that too few Republicans now will honor. In his person he proves the inadequacy of so-called Black History curricula that reject white Americans as subjects for study: a recent Afro-American history reader, "America's Black Past," ignores him.

When the first volume of David Donald's biography was published in 1960, it was praised frequently by reviewers for its scholarship, and it won the Pulitzer Prize for that year, though Donald characterized Sumner (without citation) as "the most objectionable figure in American history."

Sober second thoughts followed, in obscure quarters. Troubled by the "subversion of the character of a founding father of American civil equality," Prof. Louis Ruchames published in *The Massachusetts Review* (Summer, 1961) a major essay, lately reprinted in the anthology "Black and White in Amer can Culture." He demonstrated that not inconsiderable number of excerp from manuscript sources were used i conflict with their original context, wit the consistent result of arousing read hostility to Donald's subject. And th present writer undertook a similar stud which disclosed mistreatment of secon dary sources, and larding with slante adverbs; the result was "Donald' Sumner Reconsidered," which appeare in the NAACP's *The Crisis*, Dec. 196

What of Volume II? Donald's hostil ity persists. Not only is Sumner de scribed as self-righteous, lofty, aloo intractable, gloating and the like, bu evidence tending to show him in a mor favorable light is ignored. Donald has for example, a whole chapter entitle "Very Like Robespierre," a phras taken from a British Minister's des patch, yet he omits any reference to an other notable foreign observer, George Clemenceau, who sent illuminating re ports to *Le Temps* and characterize Sumner as a "distinguished, upright and justly popular statesman."

One cannot claim that Charles Sumne was an easy man to get along with o deny the attributes – lack of humo self-assertiveness and a tendency t exaggerate – that were pinpointed by

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homas Wentworth Higginson. But it something worse than caricature to agnify the warts to such an extent at the face is obscured. I was particularly struck by the failure to offer the eader the testimony of the contemporary of Sumner's who came closest to eing ours, Moorfield Storey.

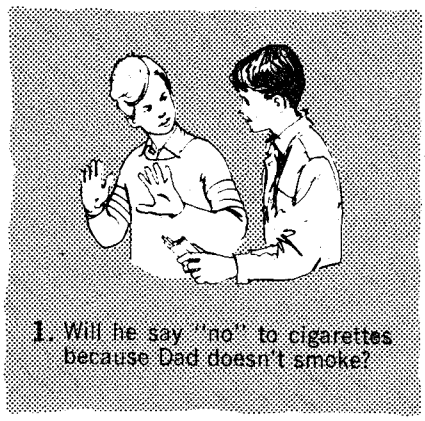
Storey was Sumner's senatorial secretary (1866-1868) and first president of AACP (1912-1929). He may have een a mugwump, but he was far from eing a "radical-liberal." He saw and ecorded more of the private life of the enator than did the young wife of umner's late middle age, and he was character witness of unimpeachable redibility, yet Donald gives him no earing. Storey, decrying historians who "derived their impressions from umner's political opponents rather han from those who knew him well," nce told the Saturday Club:

> I may add a word of personal testimony, for I lived in his house for two years. I sat in his library and saw him receive men of every rank, race, and color. I was myself young and at the time sensitive to any affectation of superiority, and I was struck with the gracious courtesy with which Mr. Sumner uniformly received his numerous visitors. He was no respecter of persons, but his manners were natural and kind.

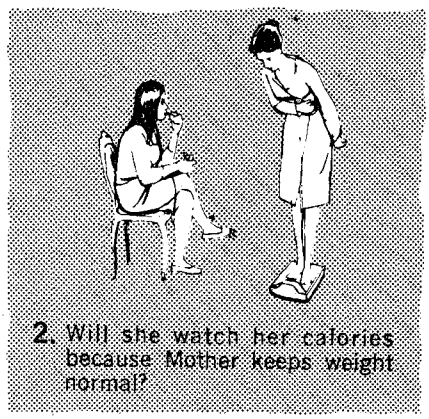
The private man identified by Storey is ardly to be found in Volume II, nor do ve find the public man praised by his ympathizers as one who saw his great vork come to fruition. Donald's preface ontains a fulsome tribute to Sumner's deals and advocacy and regrets "that ve failed to adopt Sumner's principles nd failed to reconstruct our whole ociety on the basis of equal rights for ll." His opening chapter tells of the noving state funeral and extravagant ulogies, and then expresses the basic heme of his treatment of Sumner the tatesman: ". . . a note of puzzlement ept appearing in the numerous tributes o Sumner, as though the speakers were ot sure on what basis his claim to reatness rested." That "note of puzzlement" may not have been quite there in 1874, but the reader who brings insufficient knowledge of civil-rights history to this book will be puzzled, particularly when he gets to the whopper: "Though the leading proponent in Congress of Negro rights, Sumner had not been the author or sponsor of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, or Fifteenth

Are you setting a good example?

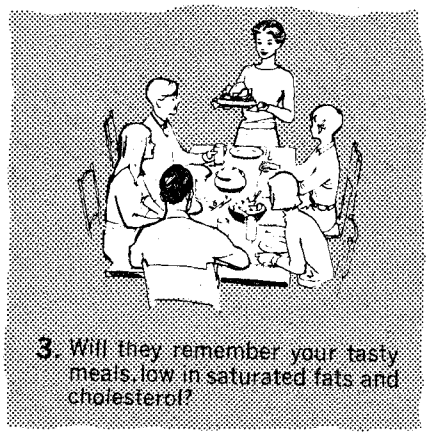
Are you helping your children form good living habits *now* that will reduce their risk of heart attacks later?



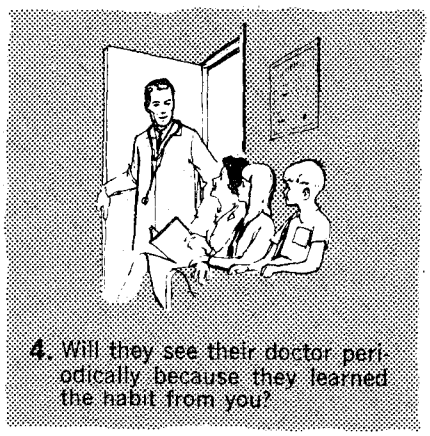
1. Will he say "no" to cigarettes because Dad doesn't smoke?



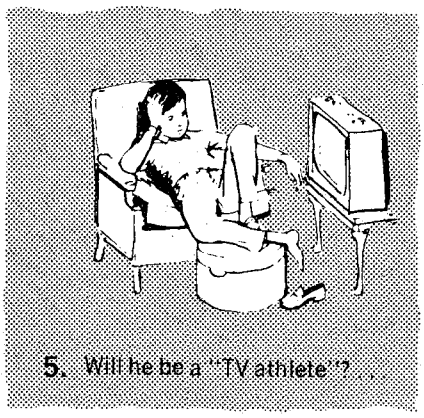
2. Will she watch her calories because Mother keeps weight normal?



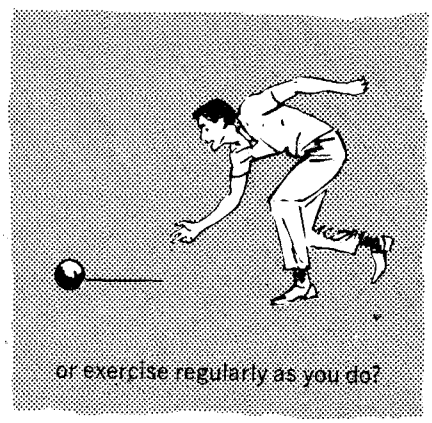
3. Will they remember your tasty meals, low in saturated fats and cholesterol?



4. Will they see their doctor periodically because they learned the habit from you?



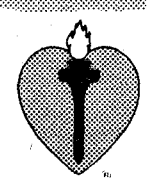
5. Will he be a "TV athlete"?



or exercise regularly as you do?

And will they give generously to the

HEART FUND



because you do too?

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Amendments; indeed, he had gravely objected to all three measures."

That is a misleading melange of quarter-truths which it would take a separate essay to explain but can best be answered by reference to a political cartoon described in the book – one can at least be grateful to Donald's thoroughness in this respect – showing a tall cliff, at the base of which tiny figures of presidential aspirants were busily posting placards and uttering self-serving slogans while Charles Sumner, atop a long ladder, high above them all, is shown serenely painting in bold letters across the visible face of the rock the huge words "Amending the Constitution."

Music

Bartok and the Second Revolution

A recent event which escaped wide general attention was the 25th anniversary of the death, on September 26, 1945, of Bela Bartok. As the observances of the Beethoven Bicentennial continue, it is clear enough that concert-givers will use any occasion as an excuse for whooping it up for some great, dead figure. Bartok was neglected this time around, perhaps because if Art is as long as they say it is, 25 years is not quite long enough. It has, however, been long enough to produce a startling revolution in aesthetics – startling because the earlier revolution, which began in about 1910 and in which Bartok participated, was by no means finished when the second one began at about the time the Second World War ended. Bartok's posthumous career is one thing. The music written since his death is another.

Eras do not end with anything like the flat finality suggested by college textbooks, but the death of Bartok could easily be selected as the end of one set of trends simply because it so nearly coincided with the rise of a new set. But Bartok did not live long enough to be pilloried, with Hindemith, among the reactionaries, or to accommodate himself, as Stravinsky did, to the new techniques and fashions. For the younger and farther-out composers, Bartok became neither a model to emulate, like Webern, nor a teacher from whom to acquire technique, like Schoenberg, nor an admirable but too remote revolutionary figure, like Debussy. He was, rather, the type of the revolutionary composer – indifferent to pressure to conform, alienated from bourgeois listeners, original, safely out of the way.

Bartok was a highly respected composer and had achieved a large international reputation years before his death, but in his entire lifetime, he never enjoyed a vogue in the sense that Stravinsky did. By most of the standards current at the time, his music was sufficiently eccentric to be beyond the grasp of the average intelligent listener on two counts: first, the extremely heavy saturation of so-called "uncatalogued" dissonances (nobody bothers to catalog dissonances any more, but forty years ago the custom was to give chords names for purposes of identification); second, Bartok's addiction to several distinct types of rhythmic irregularity (i.e., the use of additive meters such as 5/8 and 7/8, the use of what he called "changing time," and the use, though infrequent, of polyrhythm).

Bartok's music was not frequently performed before 1945, but it was heard often enough that a little anthology could have been assembled of idiotic remarks made by ill-informed reviewers of his music. It is a rule of musical journalism that any composer, original or not, will collect some notices which, favorable or unfavorable, are meaningless. In Bartok's case, the striking thing about the vogue he acquired after his death is that it sucked in so many astute and highly sophisticated listeners who were unprepared, technically and emotionally, to absorb the music they heard.

In the winter of 1946, when Bartok had been in his grave just four months, the League of Composers sponsored a concert in his memory in New York which everybody attended – everybody, in this case, being composers, many of whom had come long distances, and a host of local big-shots. The concludin work of the concert was Bartok's Fir String Quartet, played by the Budape Quartet, which had no affinity for th sort of stuff anyway and was a ba choice. Their performance was one c the two or three most unforgettable have ever heard – unforgettable becaus in the last movement, which is a lon one, some one got lost *and stayed lo* for at least ten full minutes, durin which interval the music played wa not the Bartok First Quartet, but som chaotic nightmare created for the occa sion and surely impossible to duplicat When the players got organized suffi ciently to finish the piece more or les together, they were received not wit boos and catcalls, but with a prolonge standing ovation complete with cheer and bravos. This episode is not an un important one, because it demonstrate that, as late as 1946, a great many o the best-educated musicians in th country were not familiar with eithe the repertory or idiomatic characteris tics of Bartok's music; that they coul be fooled into thinking that the mock ery they applauded was the real article and that the Bartok vogue, which wa the big thing in music from then unti sometime in the fifties, was founde not on a true appreciation of the com poser's work, but on Something Else.

Part of the Something Else was tha American composers, with the usua exceptions, resented the competition o so many brilliant refugees from Hitler' Europe, treated them shabbily an found it easier to make amends t Bartok's memory than they would hav to the man himself. A fact rarely pub licized is that Bartok, who died in pov erty, was a monster of ingratitude an refused to accommodate himself to an of the ways that a musician makes a living in the United States. He decline a posh job, for example, at the Curti Institute of Music that would hav consumed very little of his time an allowed him to support his family i comfort. Nonetheless, the circumstance of his death were quite enough to touch the heart.

Another part of the Something Else was the prevailing view that Bartok's music was "advanced" and hard to understand. Once the spate of Bartok performances had begun, conservative listeners found that here was one abstruse composer whose music – especially his late music – was not hard to take at all.

Concurrently, many of the younger

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usicians – especially composers who ere getting a little bit bored with ravinskian neo-classicism – found, in me of Bartok's music, guide-posts inting towards the non-tonal music at has been the dominant trend roughout the Western world for fifen or twenty years. His Second Soata is a work of crucial importance cause in it he came very close to the iennese Expressionists – to Schoenrg and to the Berg of *Wozzeck*, ough not to Webern. He continued to me this vein through the late twenes, and if he had pursued the course clearly indicated in the Second Soata and the Third String Quartet, he uld have found himself in the Schoberg group and perhaps even adopted Schoenberg's method of composion with 12 tones. As it fell out, his yle took a turn towards the tradition om which he had sprung. The direcon he was to follow to the end of his fe had become unmistakably clear by 931, when he wrote the Second Piano oncerto. And his last works were as igratiating as the music of Prokofiev. Whatever temperamental predisposions might have made it difficult for artok to take the last steps towards reaking with tonality, there was one spect of his work which would have ade it impossible. This was his inolvement with ethnomusicology. Bark considered himself, among other nings, a scientist. With the primitive cording equipment available, he roamed around the Balkans and Asia Minor collecting folk-songs. He caught folk music exactly as a lepidopterist catches butterflies, and a major part of his life work was devoted to the kind of close taxonomical analysis of the material he found that can be of interest only to the expert. These folk sources are forever cropping up in Bartok's art music. The meters that conservatory-trained musicians had never even seen, let alone heard, fifty years ago, found their way into his sonatas and quartets, as did the tunes themselves.

Bartok came at the folk music with something of Liszt's attitude toward the *Hungarian Rhapsodies*; both believed that a composer, having latched on to a piece of folk material, had a right to do anything he bloody well pleased with it. For Bartok, this meant supporting the tunes with harmony that was not only dissonant in the sophisticated sense of the word, but also rough, rude and barbaric – a delicate balance between the refined and the primitive.

Because of the originality of his rhythm and his harmony, Bartok serves as a link – one of the few generally accepted ones – between the old and the new. It was to his professional advantage that he did not outlive his own time, because the younger composers who most respect him are, in the main, as intolerant of folk music and folk sources as they are of the common

Words

for Albert Howard Carter, Jr., 1913-1970

They said / No more words
words are crumbling & peeling away
like old paint
meaning hides behind them
curled in things themselves
in feeling and form
the thisness of the world

You said / Words are living
forms that are always dying
and being reborn
shooting out runners like ferns
they must be planted and
pruned and loved and
what a man says
a man earns

PETER MEINKE

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chord and of works of traditional symphonic length divided into traditional symphonic movements. A Bartok alive today and writing as he wrote then would be most unacceptable to the current crop of radical composers. As it is, he left one of the two "modernist" works of this century that has proven to be invulnerable to attacks from whatever quarter: the *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta*. The other is Stravinsky's *Sacre du printemps*.

He died in the US, having fled Hungary in 1939. After his death, his wife, the pianist Ditta Pasztory-Bartok, returned to Hungary, where she now lives, and where the present regime honors the memory of her husband in practical ways. Right now the state-controlled Hungarian recording industry is issuing a complete edition of Bartok's music which will run to almost 40 discs and includes some piano music, none of it old lady's music, which Mme. Bartok plays very well indeed. The entire set can be had in this country by subscription and is very expensive, but the records are available individually.

Of the discs so far available, a surprisingly large number are devoted to pieces barely known in the West – "Hungarian Sketches," "Rumanian Folk Dances," "Transylvanian Peasant Songs," etc., which are drawn from Balkan folk sources and far closer to them than the body of Bartok's well-known concert music. It is perfectly obvious that a Communist government would wish to emphasize a composer's tie with the people, but it is equally obvious that a complete recording of Bartok's music is going to have to include all of this. Much of it, to be blunt, is no better than Grieg's folksy music and not much different from it. If the stuff were circulated widely in Western countries – and the chances are most unlikely – it would be at the expense of Bartok's image.

That part of his output generally performed in this country breaks down into several categories. First, the pieces that symphony audiences enjoy (the second two piano concertos, the violin concerto, the concerto for orchestra, the *Music for Percussion, Strings, and Celesta*); the big theatre pieces that get more respect than enthusiasm from the public, *The Wooden Prince, The Miraculous Mandarin, Bluebeard's Castle*); music for the connoisseur (the quarte and some of the other chamber musi the sonatas, some of the suites); mus for teachers and specialists in certai instruments (the *Mikrokosmos* an other teaching pieces, the 44 Duos fc two violins). This represents about ha of his work. It is the music on whic his reputation rests, and it is for th music that he is revered by a younge generation on whom he has had vi tually no influence.

Robert Evet

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Former Literary Editor of The New Republic, ROBERT EVETT *has just completed a bassoon concerto on commission from Robert Bialek for Kenneth Tasmanick, first bassoonist of the National Symphony.* HELEN FULLER *is a former Managing Editor of NR.* PETER MEINKE *teaches at Florida Presbyterian College.* HOWARD N. MEYER, *biographer of U.S. Grant* (Let Us Have Peace) *and Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (Colonel of the Black Regiment) *has just completed a "biography" of the Civil War Amendments.*

Television

Nader as Performer

Ralph Nader and his raiders have successfully made the jump to TV, with a fine new series coming out of WGBH in Boston and distributed to non-commercial stations for showing Wednesday nights. They've apparently done five shows as of this writing – on a Cannon textile mill, on advertising, on pesticides, on pollution in Savannah, and on public interest law. Let me drop a few words here on the last two and then turn to a problem that such social criticism asks that we face: what would General Motors or the chemical people or any of the others, including television itself, look like if Nader and his unmerry men *really* had their way? First, Savannah.

It seems that decades ago the City of Savannah enticed several big companies into the neighborhood by allowing them to write their own tickets. The tickets said that the companies would be permanently zoned outside the city limits and free of city taxes and ordinances but deserving of city water, city fire protection and – wonder of wonders – city protection from suits against their pollutions. So it was full steam (and smoke, sludge and acid) ahead. The big victim? – the Savannah River.

It seems also that the City of Savannah is still dumping raw sewage into the Savannah River. A sewage treatment plant was programmed in 1965 and scheduled for completion in 1968, but is not done yet. Only a small percentage of the river's pollution comes from the city, however; the rest is from industry, and particularly from one big paper mill owned by Union Camp, tha supplies – if my ears did not betray m – 80 percent of the pollution.

It seems that Union Camp arrived i Savannah in the depths of the Depres sion and earned the reputation the of having saved the city's financial skir Since then the company, which uses s much water as seriously to threaten th city's water supply, has had not onl the city but also the county mesmer ized; it pays no taxes to the former an less than one-third of what would b properly assessable by the latter.

And so on. Nader's raiders naturall had a little trouble cozying up to th pollutors, but only with Union Cam did they meet solid ice. At Union Cam an official, when queried about th long-term effects on the river of th company's discharges, said merely tha he wouldn't be around to see them. An among all the companies only Unio Camp, when advised of what would b in the Nader TV program, had no state ment at all to make about their plan for reducing the pollution. The raider claim that Union Camp has threatene to leave Savannah if pressed on th issue. One raider's quick – and I think questionable – economics produced th figures of $10 million for effective de pollution of the company's operation as against $400 million for moving.

I say that these figures seem question able (the former seems low, the latte high), but, right or wrong, what in terests me is the thinking behind the figures. On the practical side the raider imagine that Union Camp and com

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anies in a similar predicament will nd it not only legally and socially bligatory to give in to Nader-type ressures, but economically feasible to o so. The assumption is always that ıere's enough fat on every capitalistic one for a little dieting. But what if ıat assumption is wrong? What if our ig businessmen derive their Cadillacs ıd penthouses largely *from* being pol-ıters, producers of junk and so on? ıny good socialist would say this is o, adding exploitation of labor as a rucial factor. Yet Nader is apparently, espite his sweeping condemnations of hings as they are, a private-ownership ıan ideologically.

Raider ideology is a mixture that can ven still attract conservatives (it's a ar cry from the New Left economic deology described by Melville Ulmer n these pages – *NR*, Dec. 26). I was urprised to see Nader praised recently n a rightist stockmarket letter – one hat prophesied financial doom soon rom a combination of private and ›ublic bankruptcies. Nader was not lescribed as one of the bad guys threat-ning institutional stability; he was a ıan of virtue chasing crooks.

Part of his conservatism is nicely ›uilt into the basic subject matter of he present TV series, conservation of esources. As an instance, the anchor-ıan on the Savannah show, Harrison Wellford, opened the proceedings by ›bserving that the imposition of indus-rial life upon the South in the last few lecades has lowered the quality of life n the South. I agree, but with raised yebrows; it is the sort of remark that ›onservative Southern agrarians could ›e heard making nearly half a century ›go, and when they did they were ›onstantly hooted down by Northern iberals. Back to the plantation, pappy? Want some hominy and grits? And lavery? – yet the raiders are hardly Southern agrarians; their concern for ıhe environment simply puts them sometimes in the same bag with those who would not just reform industry but eliminate it.

Even where the subject is not conser-vation, however, Nader avoids the language of social radicalism. The pro-gram following Savannah was primar-ily addressed to the venality of the legal profession, and characteristically the key phrase was "the public-interest dimension." Lawyers lack it, and Nader is ashamed of them. Well, fine. I hope he will make a hundred thousand law-yers feel guilty, and then turn to the doctors and dentists and politicoes. Yet to talk of the "public-interest dimen-sion" is to talk the apolitical jive that has become so popular on urban affairs committees and the like. *Everybody* can profess interest in the "public-interest dimension," and does – even industry representatives on Nader's own show.

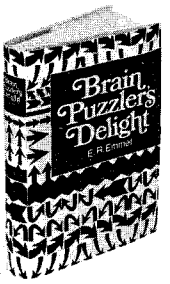
There are the sick and there are the sicker in our aging industrial society, and then there are the reformers – the real ones, the ones who mean it, like Nader. The real ones deserve our sup-port, I think; this society has to be turned around. But so many phonies creep around these days, loving up the "public-interest dimension" *too*, that the real ones may find themselves drowned out. Even Nader, who is one of the most practical and potent re-formers we have known for many years, seems somehow unable to follow through to the long-term economic and social consequences of what he pro-poses – he seems practiced only as a buster-upper.

O.K., so first things first. Get rid of the sludge in the river, the poison in the air, the faults in the Corvair spring-ing system, the wheels that fall off the Fords – and *then* worry about private profits and corporate solvency. There is the Nader position as I understand it (he would apply it to the private profits of lawyers too), and it's a good one right up to where removing the sludge still leaves the private-enterprise chap a little toddy. But are we not right-up-to-where in many areas already? – take railroads, for example, and hospitals. It is where the fat is gone that Naderism is starting to look incomplete.

I'm not blaming Nader; such incom-pleteness is a mark of our reformist time, and maybe only time will bring completeness. Yet we do need to be aware of how much we are in limbo on absolutely vital social matters. Take my own benighted industry, TV: loud are the cries against the Madison Ave-nue villains, loud are the cries that the FCC or somebody do something; but where do you find anybody daring to say that the FCC or somebody outside the private ownership structure should be given substantial *powers* to do something? The spectres of tyranny and censorship remain too strong, it would seem, for us to contemplate steadily the measures necessary to stop the dollar from running us into the grave – so we complain, and wait, as the dollar runs us into the grave.

As a damned radical I am not going to

Brain Puzzler's Delight



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lose two seconds' sleep worrying about whether Union Camp's or CBS's profits are holding up (in 1969 the former had a net income of 6.8 percent of sales, the latter 6.2 percent; and the figures were 11.7 and 17.5 percent respectively, on invested capital). Still, cut those profits by a quarter or third, as spending $10 million on pollution would do for Union Camp, and there will be screams, citizen; eliminate them and the government may end up manufacturing paper and Ed Sullivan programs. One thing is sure: if we are going to have substantial reforms we will see constantly greater need to transfer managerial powers and even ownership out of private hands – a need that most of our libertarian reformers fear as much as they do sludge.

Sedulus

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Brain Damage

Sirs:

In your issue of November 21, 1970, Professor John Kaplan quoted my testimony before a House Armed Services subcommittee that "There are growing scientific compilations which show that a sufficient dose [of marijuana] can cause irreversible brain damage." He then goes on to say that unless I am referring to a dose s large that it would choke an anima there is absolutely no scientific ev dence at all for my claim.

Unfortunately, Mr. Kaplan appa ently failed to read the compilation c research papers which I provided hi at his request. In it there is quoted th conclusion of a scientific paper by D James C. Munch that "Humans smok ing marijuana cigarettes . . . hav developed . . . progressive brain dam age. . . ." In addition, the compilatio cites the results of an NIMH-spor sored study by Dr. Constandinos Miras of the University of Athen which concluded that long time use who smoked at least two marijuan cigarettes daily for two years or mor exhibited among other things signifi cant and lasting organic brain chang There is also a reference to the finding of Dr. Katherine Hess, former Na cotics Coordinator, New York Cit Health Department, who has reporte evidence of brain damage resultin from excessive use of marijuana.

Frank A. Bartimo
Chairman, DoD Drug Abus Control Committee

In reply . . .

Humans not smoking marijuana hav developed progressive brain damag too, and Dr. Munch gives absolutel no reason to believe that the smokin of marijuana is in any statistical, le alone causal, way related to brai damage of any type.

With respect to the work of Dr. Con standinos Miras, the situation is some what more complicated. Dr. Miras di perform an NIMH study – but no the one that Mr. Bartimo cites. Th NIMH study dealt with radioactiv tracers. The study cited by Mr. Bar timo is not a study at all but rathe a speech given by Dr. Miras, unsup ported by any data, in which he said "I can recognize a marijuana user by the way he talks and walks. . . ." Ever if this were true as to Greek hashish users who often mix datura (a fa more dangerous drug) with their mari juana, it would say nothing abou American users among whom datur use is essentially unknown. Moreover even as to the Greek users, Dr. Mira retracted his statement publicly at a drug-abuse conference at Rutgers in June of 1968.

Finally, I confess not to having heard

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Dr. Katherine Hess' research. A ephone call to her (she is now Nartics Advisor to the Secretary of ealth of Pennsylvania in Harrisırg) produced this statement: "I have ver to my knowledge written or said at marijuana causes long-term brain mage. So far as I know there is no ientific evidence that it does, and I rtainly have never myself done a udy on the issue."

May I add that the long-term effect extremely heavy and abusive mariana use may possibly be brain damge. If so, in this particular respect arijuana will be shown to be as danrous as alcohol, though almost cerınly in a lower percentage of users. he point is that no scientific study stifies this conclusion today and Mr. artimo's assertion that ". . . there e growing scientific compilations hich show . . ." anything on the issue ıerely shows what happens when the efense Department decides to play ational Institute of Mental Health.

John Kaplan
Stanford Law School

Ethnic Politics

Sirs:

Like many other ideologues, Tom Kelly ("Mayor Daley's Smart, But What Else," December 26, 1970) has a remarkable ability to miss the point – or rather to force all discussion around to his point. As I thought my article had made clear, I was not attempting a "defense of Mayor Richard Daley and Chicago Machine politics." Ethnic politics as a system has certain built-in weaknesses; and the Cook County Organization, like all human enterprises, has its full share of imperfections – and maybe more than its share.

My point ("Take Heart from the Heartland," December 12) was rather that one can neither improve upon nor replace ethnic politics unless one can understand from the inside how and why the system works. Mr. Kelly's carefully arranged diatribe against Mayor Daley – like most assaults on the mayor by ideological liberals – is completely innocent of such understanding. And this is the reason why Mr. Kelly and ideologues like him will never have the political power or influence to which they think their moral righteousness entitles them – other than that transient power which can occasionally be mustered at the barrel of a gun.

Andrew M. Greeley
Chicago, Illinois

Kauffmann, *from page 28*

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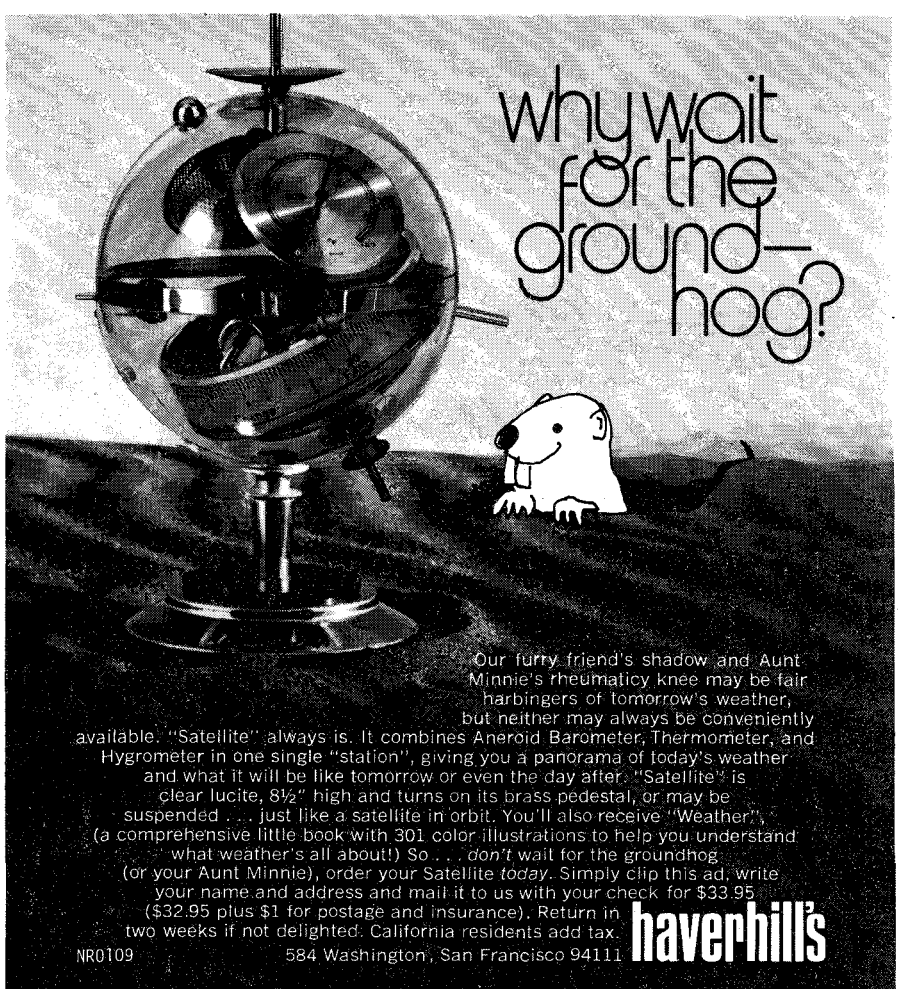
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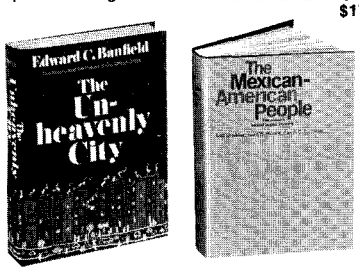

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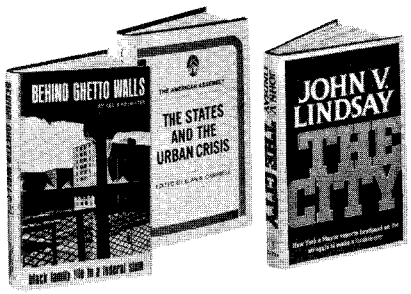

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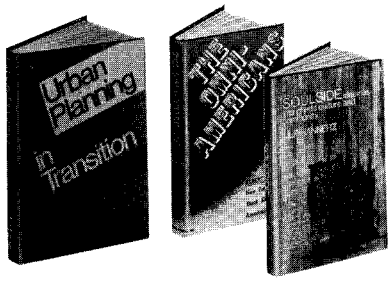

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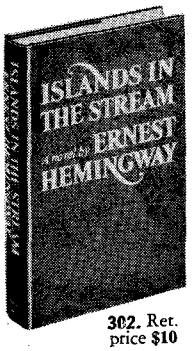

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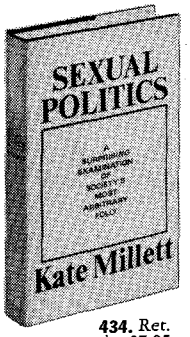

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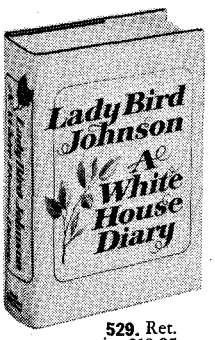

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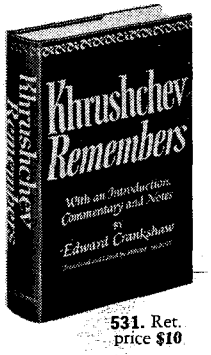

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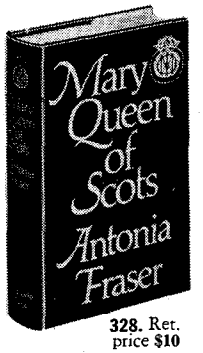

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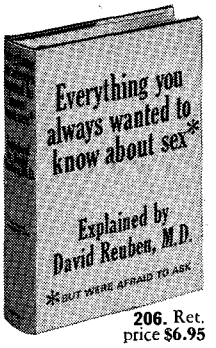

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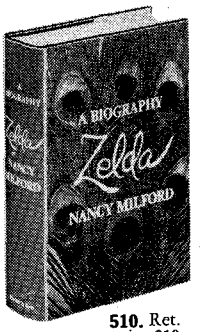

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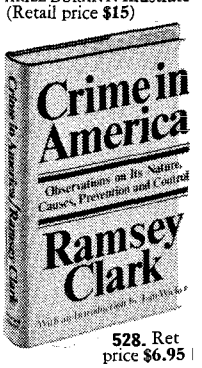

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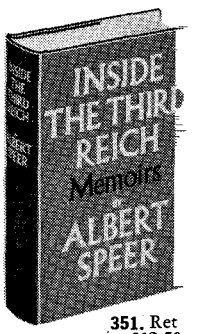

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